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THE

HISTORY OF GERMANY,

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

WOLFGANG MENZEL.

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BY

MRS. GEORGE HORROCKS.

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JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

HISTORY OF GERMANY.

FOURTH PERIOD.—CONTINUED.

MODERN TIMES.

CCXXXI. *Charles the Sixth.*

CHARLES, Joseph the First's younger brother, had [A. D. 1704] been sent into Spain for the purpose of setting up his claim as the rightful heir of the house of Habsburg in opposition to that of the usurper Philip. It had been decided that Spain should, under Charles, remain separate from Austria under Joseph, the union of so many crowns on one head, as formerly on that of Charles V., being viewed with jealousy by the English, the Dutch, and the empire. Charles had, like his brother, been surrounded from his birth with the stiff ceremonial of the old Spanish court and with a gorgeous magnificence that flimsily veiled the absence of genuine grandeur. Charles, like Joseph during the Landau campaign, was accompanied in his journey to Spain by a suite of the most useless description, such as butlers, clerks of the kitchen, plate-cleaners, etc. He travelled through Holland to England, where he was conducted through rows of beautiful girls to Queen Anne's bed-chamber, where she presented to him the most beautiful of her ladies-in-waiting, each of whom he honoured with a salute. He was at that time unmarried, but shortly afterwards Elisabeth* of Wolfenbüttel was sent to him as a bride. From

* A Lutheran princess. Elisabeth was well received at Vienna, but, in Brunswick, the superintendent, Nitsch, said from the pulpit, "One princess have we sacrificed to Popery, a second to Paganism, (a Russian prince,) and, were the devil to come to-morrow, we should give him a third."

England he went to Lisbon, Portugal supporting the house of Habsburg through dread of the united power of France and Spain. An army, composed of Dutch and English, was also assembled at Lisbon for the purpose of enforcing Charles's claims, and Prince George of Darmstadt, who had for some time resided in Spain, would have been its well-chosen commander, had not his nomination been opposed by English jealousy. He it was who, acquainted with the negligent manner in which Gibraltar, otherwise impregnable, was guarded, and seconded by the united fleets of England and Holland under Rook, took that fortress, but was compelled to endure the shame of beholding the British flag, instead of that of Charles, planted on the summit of the rock. A fresh troop of English auxiliaries, under Lord Peterborough, placed Charles [A. D. 1704] completely under the guardianship of England. Barcelona, where Prince George had some old connexions, and whence it was hoped to raise the whole of Catalonia against Philip, was besieged from the sea; the first assault, led by George, was, however, unsupported, from a motive of jealousy, by Lord Peterborough, and the life of the gallant prince was sacrificed. The town fell, eventually, into the hands of the English, and Charles figured there as a phantom monarch; but, anxious to conceal his utter dependence upon Lord Peterborough, he had the folly ever to oppose his wisest and most necessary measures. The French, taken by surprise, were repulsed on every side, and the king, Philip, a mere puppet of state, fled from Madrid.* Charles refused to enter Madrid on account of the want of a state-carriage, and, by his folly, delayed the performance of a ceremony, which would have made the deepest impression upon the Spaniards, and the junction of the troops concentrated at Lisbon and Barcelona. The French again took breath; Marshal Berwik was victorious at Almanza, A. D. 1707, and Charles was speedily shut up in Barcelona.

It was not until 1710, that the allies again assembled their forces, the Germans under the gallant Count von Stahremberg, the English under Stanhope, and reopened the campaign. They gained a signal victory at Saragossa; Philip was a second

* The Spanish crown diamonds (an incredible number) were, on this occasion, sent to Paris, and were seized by Louis in payment for the aid granted by him.

time put to flight, and King Charles at length entered Madrid, where the people, jealous of his dependence upon the English heretics, received him with ominous silence. The pope and the Jesuits secretly worked against him. The moment when he would have been welcomed with open arms had been irretrievably neglected. France sent reinforcements and her best general, Vendome. At this critical moment, Stanhope separated from the Germans and allowed himself and the whole of his army to be made prisoners at Brihuega. Stahremberg, for whom Vendome had prepared a similar fate, kept the enemy, greatly his superior in number, in check at Villaviciosa; Charles was, nevertheless, once more limited to Barcelona, and the death of his brother recalling him to Germany, he returned thither, A. D. 1711, and received the imperial crown at Frankfurt. His consort, Elisabeth, and Stahremberg remained for two years longer at Barcelona, but were finally compelled to abandon that town, and unhappy Catalonia fell a prey to the cruel vengeance of Philip's adherents.

Charles was the only remaining prince of the house of Habsburg, his brother, Joseph, having died without issue. He united all the crowns of Habsburg on his head, and the hope of placing that of Spain, independent of the German hereditary provinces, on the head of a younger branch of that family, was, consequently, frustrated. This circumstance entirely changed the aspect of affairs. England, who was imitated by the allies of lesser importance, deemed Germany and Spain more dangerous when united under one head than France and Spain under two and unexpectedly declared in Philip's favour. Torrents of blood were again fruitlessly shed, and France, aided by all the other European powers, once more grasped her prey.

In England, the popular rights of the Anglo-Saxons had been forcibly suppressed by the Gallo-Norman feudal aristocracy. Since the Reformation, the popular element had, however, again risen, a reaction had taken place, and, in the middle of the seventeenth century, had produced a great revolution, which cost Charles I. his head, a deed of blood which raised enmity and engendered suspicion between his descendants, the Stuarts, and the people. The Stuarts were expelled, and William of Orange was called to the throne. Amongst those who, in the parliament and in the ministry, contended for the

control of the state, two parties had formed, the Tories or ancient Norman feudal aristocracy, who, although upholding their aristocratic privileges, were devoted to the monarchy, of which they made use for the suppression of popular liberty; and the Whigs, or Anglo-Saxon freemen, who, enriched by trade, proud of their marshal deeds, obstinately defended their ancient rights, were ever on the watch for the legal acquisition of fresh ones, and were no less devoted to the monarchy, by means of which, in their turn, they sought to overthrow the Tories. The Tories had naturally befriended the Stuarts; William, and, after him, Anne, were, consequently, supported by the Whigs. Dependence on a popular faction was, however, in this, as it has been in all ages, a royal bugbear, and the Tories merely awaited a fitting opportunity to eject their opponents from the queen's privy-council.

This opportunity offered on the death of the emperor Joseph. The Tories, under pretext of the over-preponderance of Germany and Spain when united under one head, ranged themselves on the side of France, who rewarded their neutrality with commercial advantages that flattered the material interests of the people and reduced the Whig opposition to silence. They were, moreover, seconded by a court-intrigue. The Duchess of Marlborough, rendered insolent by the fame and wealth of her husband, whose noble qualities were obscured by excessive covetousness,* wounded the queen's vanity by refusing to give her a handsome pair of gloves, to which she had taken a fancy, and by other acts of impoliteness; she was, in consequence, dismissed, and had the barefaced impudence suddenly to draw the whole of the enormous sums she had placed in the Bank of England, in order to produce a scarcity of gold, which, however, simply caused her husband, notwithstanding the laurels he had gained, to be prosecuted on a charge of embezzlement. His friends shared his fall; the Whigs lost office and were succeeded by a Tory government.

Prince Eugene hastened to London, but his friend Marlborough was already undergoing his trial, and, although Queen

* Marlborough possessed great financial as well as military talent. In unison with the Jew, Medina, for instance, he set up stock-jobbing or commercial transactions with government paper, which afterwards became general throughout Europe; he, moreover, defrauded the public treasury by lowering the pay of his troops, etc.

Anne gave him a polite reception and presented him with a diamond-hilted sword, he was refused a second interview, and his supplications in Marlborough's favour proved ineffectual. The people gave him an enthusiastic welcome, and such was the popular rage against the Tories, that [A. D. 1712] one of his nephews was killed in a street-fight. The Earl of Ormond replaced Marlborough as commander-in-chief of the British troops in the Netherlands, but, no sooner was battle offered, than he retreated under pretext of obeying secret orders. The Dutch under Albemarle, in consequence of this faithless desertion, suffered a defeat, and Eugene found himself compelled to retire from his position at *Quesnoy*.*

The Tories, after playing this shameful part, threw off the mask and concluded a private treaty, the peace of Utrecht, A. D. 1713, with France, the stipulations of which were, the possession of Gibraltar, the key to the Mediterranean, of Minorca and St. Christopher, the demolition of the fortress of Dunkirk, ever an eye-sore to the English, and free trade with all the Spanish colonies, in return for which they recognised Philip as king of Spain. The Dutch also endeavoured to make peace by a speedy accession to the articles under negotiation, but were, nevertheless, compelled to purchase it by a shameful humiliation. The coachman of the Dutch plenipotentiary, Count von Rechtern, having bestowed a box on the ear on an insolent French lacquey, the ambassadors of the states-general were forced to apologize in person.

The German empire, although abandoned by England and Holland, might still have compelled France to listen to reason had not her poliarchical government put every strong and combined movement out of the question. Prince Eugene vainly depictured the power of unity and conjured the German Estates to rise en masse. He thundered at Mayence—to deaf

* The Grisons afforded a striking example of the mode in which French influence gained ground. Thomas Massner, a councillor of Chur, whose son had been carried off as an hostage by the French in the vicinity of Geneva, in retaliation, seized the person of the grand-prior of Vendome, who was then on his way through Switzerland, A. D. 1710. His just demand for an exchange of prisoners was disregarded, and, in 1712, he was forced by his own countrymen, through dread of France, to deliver up the grand-prior; nay, they accused him of fomenting disturbances, compelled him to flee the country, quartered him in effigy, and allowed him to die in misery, whilst his son was detained a prisoner in France. The family of Salis headed the French faction in the Grisons.

ears. The emperor's exhortations to the imperial diet were equally futile: "His Majesty doubts not but that every true patriot will remember that not exclusively the country and the people, but, in reality, the grandeur and liberty of his fatherland, consequently, the eternal loss of his honour and rights and his unresisting submission to foreign insolence, are at stake." The imperial Estates remained unmoved and tardily contributed the miserable sum of 200,000 dollars towards the maintenance of the imperial army, whilst Villars continued to collect millions on the Rhine and in Swabia. Van der Harsch alone distinguished himself by the gallant defence of Freiburg in the Breisgau.

Eugene found himself compelled to enter into negotiation with Villars. The French, however, were so insolent in their demands that Eugene, acting on his own responsibility, quitted Rastadt, where the congress was being held, upon which the aged despot at Paris, fearing lest rage might at length rouse Germany from her torpor, yielded; Eugene returned and peace was concluded in the neighbouring town of Baden, A. D. 1714. The treaty of Utrecht was recognised; Philip remained in possession of Spain, England in that of Gibraltar, etc. The emperor, Charles VI., on the other hand, retained all the Spanish possessions in Italy, Naples, Milan, Sardinia, besides the Netherlands and the fortresses of Kehl, Freiburg, and Breisach, and the territory hitherto possessed by the French on the right bank of the Rhine, for which France was indemnified by the cession of Landau. The island of Sardinia was, in the ensuing year, given by Austria in exchange for Sicily to the duke of Savoy, who took the title of King of Sardinia. The emperor, as sovereign of the Netherlands, now concluded a treaty with Holland, according to which the fortresses on the French frontier were to be garrisoned and defended by both Austrians and Dutch. Prussia came into possession of Neufchâtel, as nearest of kin to Maria of Nemours, its former mistress, who was allied by blood to that royal house.

This peace was partially concluded by Eugene for the emperor, independent of the empire. The lesser powers, nevertheless, acceded to it, France brutally declaring her intention to carry on the war against all recusants. The elector of the Pfalz, to whom the possession of the Upper Pfalz had been already assured, was frustrated in his expectations, the traitors

of Bavaria and Cologne regaining their possessions and being released from the bann.* Marlborough, consequently, lost Mindelheim; he was, however, restored to favour in England. Prince Eugene merely regarded the peace as a necessary evil, to which he unwillingly yielded. He clearly foresaw that, instead of bringing security to Germany, it would lead to fresh attacks and losses. "We somewhat resemble," he wrote at that period, "a fat cow, which is only made use of so long as she has a drop of superfluous milk. The word 'peace' has an agreeable sound, but only differs from 'war' as the present does from the future. He whose vocation it is, after war, to collect the chips, alone sees the heaps of wood that have been fruitlessly cut. The best peace with France is a mute war. France will seize the first opportunity to rend a fresh piece from the empire. When the Netherlands shall have been reduced to submission, the Rhine will be made the frontier and the foundation of a fresh peace. The abbess of Buchau wished me joy of the blessed peace. I am, on all sides, persecuted with congratulations of this sort. Amid all my misfortunes it is often difficult to refrain from laughter."

In the following year [A. D. 1715] Louis XIV., the vain, licentious despot, whose tyranny over Germany covered her with far deeper shame than her submission to the genius of Napoleon, expired. Anne, queen of England, also died, without issue, and was succeeded by the next heir, George, elector of Hanover, whose mother was the daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and of Elisabeth, the daughter of James I. of England. George favoured the Whigs. Peace had, however, been unalterably concluded with France.

* The order of the golden fleece was even bestowed by the emperor upon Charles Albert, the son of Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria. In the curious folio, "Fortitudo leonina Max. Emanuelis," published, at that period, by the Jesuits, the scene is allegorically represented. The imperial eagle hangs his head and looks down with lamentable condescension on the Bavarian lion, who regards him with insolent contempt. Among the engravings, with which this work abounds, there is one in which the genius of the Society of Jesus is represented with the I. H. S. on his breast, offering his humble thanks to the statue of Max. Emanuel and pointing to a large donation-plate containing twelve magnificent Jesuit houses, which the elector had built for them at the expense of the people. The elector himself, attired in the imperial robes of Rome, sits on horseback with an enormous allonge peruke on his head. His countenance is that of a satyr.

Tranquillity had scarcely been restored to the empire than she was again attacked by the Turks, and Prince Eugene once more took the field. Supported by Stahremberg and Charles Alexander of Wurtemberg,* he defeated them [A. D. 1716] in a bloody engagement near Peterwardein, where the grand visir fell, and a second time at Belgrade, when they sued for peace, which was concluded at Passarowitz, A. D. 1718. The emperor was confirmed in the possession of Belgrade, a part of Servia and Wallachia. The establishment of the Granitzers or military colonies on the Turkish frontier was a fresh proof of Eugene's genius.

Venice still retained her enmity towards the emperor, by whom she had been unaided in her war with the Turks, during which she had lost the Morea. In retaliation, she entered into a fresh intrigue against him with Alberoni, the Spanish minister. The re-annexation of Italy to Spain was again attempted. A Spanish army occupied Sicily, A. D. 1718. The impatience with which Spain had, since the death of Louis XIV., borne the tutelage of France, had, however, inclined the prince regent, Philip of Orleans, in favour of a quadruple alliance with the emperor, England, and Holland, by which Spain was compelled to withdraw her troops from Sicily and Alberoni to resign. The Venetians were, at that conjuncture, commanded by Count von Schulenburg, the same who had so repeatedly been defeated by Charles XII. in Poland. The same ill-success attended him in his Venetian command, during which he merely distinguished himself by raising the excellent

* This prince turned Catholic when in the emperor's service. On one occasion, when at Venice, the haughty nobles boasting, in his hearing, of their superior state of civilization, and ridiculing the Germans as barbarians, he invited them to a banquet on the evening fixed by him for his departure, and gave them the following theatrical entertainment. It was night time; a single lamp glimmered in the street, where Cicero's ghost was seen wandering up and down. A German traveller entered, and, finding all the doors closed, drew out his watch to see the hour, then a printed book, with which he amused himself for some time, and at length, in his impatience, fired off a pistol in order to wake the sleeping Italians. Cicero's ghost now advanced, demanded an explanation of the watch, the printed book, and the gunpowder, expressed his astonishment on finding that these great inventions had been discovered by the barbarians of the North, and inquisitively demanded "what things of still greater importance the Italians had invented, if barbarians had distinguished themselves so highly?" Upon which a Savoyard appeared, crying, "Heckles! Heckles!" for sale. The curtain dropped; the prince was already gone.

fortifications of Corfu, and those on the Dalmatian coast, destined, on the loss of the Morea, to protect Venice against Turkish aggression.

Charles VI. was the last of the male line of the house of Habsburg. His only son died during infancy, and his whole care was the inheritance of all his crowns by his daughter, Maria Theresa, whose hand he had bestowed on Francis, the youthful duke of Lorraine, an object he hoped to secure by means of the Pragmatic Sanction, a guarantee purchased from all the great European powers. Blinded by paternal affection, he imagined that the sovereigns of Europe would consider a treaty binding, an example of naiveté remarkable in the midst of the faithlessness of the age. His efforts proved vain. After carrying on a long and futile negotiation, he discovered that England, France, and Spain (afterwards Saxon-Poland also) had confederated [A. D. 1729] at Seville against the Pragmatic Sanction. Frederick William I., who succeeded Frederick I. on the throne of Prussia, actuated by a feeling of German nationality and by his private antipathy to George, king of England, alone remained true to the emperor and fulfilled the treaty concluded with him, in 1726, at Wusterhausen; the accession of the other powers to the Sanction was purchased at an enormous sacrifice. France was promised Lorraine; Spain was bribed with Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; England and Holland were gained by the abolition of the commercial society of Ostend, which dealt a fatal blow to Dutch trade, A. D. 1731. The grand pensionary of Holland, Slingelandt, Heinsius's powerful successor, displayed great activity in the conduct of this affair. Augustus of Saxon-Poland was gained over by the assurance of the succession of the crown of Poland to his son, Augustus III. On the death of Augustus II. [A. D. 1733] the Poles proceeded to a fresh election; Stanislaus Lescinsky again set himself up as a candidate for the crown, and, although the Polish nobility evinced little inclination to favour the youthful Augustus, the emperor, true to his plighted word, exerted his utmost influence in his behalf.

The empress Anne, the widow of the duke of Courland, the last but one of the house of Kettler, and niece to Peter the Great, had governed Russia since 1730. That empire had long harboured the most inimical projects against Poland, and, as

early as 1710, had proposed the partition of that kingdom to the emperor and to Prussia. Anne, on the present occasion, despatched her favourite, Marshal Münnich, at the head of forty thousand men, to Poland, for the purpose of securing the election of Augustus, that tool of Russian diplomacy. Her deep interest in this affair and her contempt of Saxony are clearly proved by the fact of her having expelled Maurice the Strong, marshal of Saxony, who had been elected duke of Courland,* and bestowing the ducal mantle on her paramour, Biron, or, more properly, Büren, the grandson of an ostler. Stanislaus fled to Dantzig, where he was protected by the faithful citizens, but the city being bombarded by Münnich, he escaped across the flooded country in a boat, in order to save the city from utter destruction, and Münnich's departure was purchased with two million florins by the citizens. Stanislaus found a hospitable reception at the court of Frederick William I., who was beyond the sphere of Russian influence.

France, Spain, and Sardinia (Savoy) now unexpectedly declared war against Charles VI. on account of his interference in favour of Augustus. War was not declared against Augustus himself and against Russia. It was simply an open pretext for again plundering the empire. England and Holland remained neutral. The Russians sent thirty thousand men to the aid of the emperor, who actually reached the Rhine, but too late, peace having been already concluded. The loss of the French marshal, Berwik, in the commencement of the campaign, before Philippsburg, greatly facilitated Eugene's endeavours (he was now worn out and past service) to maintain himself on the Rhine. In Italy, Villars, now a veteran of eighty, gained, but with immensely superior forces,

* Ferdinand, the last of the Kettler family, died, A. D. 1725. Anna, the widow of his predecessor, Frederick William, became enamoured of Maurice, for whose election she at first exerted her utmost influence. It so happened, however, that Maurice had, at that time, a liaison with Adrienne Le Couvreux, the beautiful Parisian actress, who had given him the whole of her jewels and fortune in order to furnish him with the means of forwarding his interest in Courland; he, moreover, seduced one of Anna's ladies-in-waiting, which so greatly enraged her, that her love changed to hate, and Maurice was compelled to flee from Courland. He went to Paris, where his faithful and beautiful Adrienne, the darling of the Parisians, was poisoned by a duchess, who had also become enamoured of her handsome lover. See Espagnac's Life of Maurice and Forster's Augustus II.

a battle near Parma, in which Mercy, the imperialist general, fell. His successor, Königsegg, had the good fortune to surprise the enemy on the Secchia near Quistello, and to capture the whole of his camp together with five hundred and seventy guns. He was, however, unsuccessful in a subsequent engagement at Guastalla, owing to the want of reinforcements and money. Don Carlos of Spain also went [A. D. 1734] to Sicily and took possession of the whole of the kingdom of Naples.

These circumstances were, as if by miracle, not turned to advantage by France, which would probably have been the case had not Louis XV. preferred mistresses and barbers to military achievements. A truce was concluded, and the former stipulations made by the emperor were accepted. Don Carlos retained possession of Naples; Tuscany and Parma fell to Lorraine, which was bestowed upon Stanislaus Lescinsky, [A. D. 1736,] on whose death it was to revert to France. Stanislaus was named the benefactor of Lorraine; he was a kind-hearted and generous man, who smoked his pipe and was the sincere well-wisher of the people amid whom fate had cast him on his expulsion from the throne of Poland. He died in 1766, and Lorraine became henceforward French. The Lothringians had long and gloriously defended themselves under their ancient dukes against the French. They had been shamefully abandoned by the empire, and, without any blame attaching to them, been made the victims of family policy. They deserved a better fate than that of sinking into the insignificance inseparable from a state half French, half German.

The Genoese had remained true to the emperor, by whom they were supported against the Corsicans, who refused to submit to the republic of Genoa, with a German force under Prince Louis of Wurtemberg,* who, more by gentle measures than by violence, restored tranquillity to Corsica, A. D. 1732. On his departure, the contest was renewed by a German adventurer, Theodore von Neuhof, a Westphalian nobleman, who had been educated by the Jesuits at Münster, whence he had fled on account of a duel to Holland, and, after entering the Spanish service, had visited Africa, been taken prisoner, become agent of the dey of Algiers, by whom he was de-

* Brother to Max. Emanuel, who was taken prisoner at Pultowa, the son of Frederick Charles, Eberhard Louis's uncle and guardian.

spatched at the head of a body of troops to the island of Corsica, for the purpose of liberating the inhabitants from the Genoese yoke. He rendered himself extremely popular and became king of Corsica, A. D. 1736. But, whilst travelling in Europe for the purpose of seeking for a recognition of his authority and for aid, the French landed in Corsica and forced the islanders once more to recognise the supremacy of Genoa. Theodore took refuge in England, where he died a prisoner for debt.*

Prince Eugene had, meanwhile, continued to guard the frontiers of the empire. A thorough German,† ever bent upon the promotion of the glory and welfare of Germany, he beheld her downward course with heart-felt sorrow, of which his letters give abundant and often touching proof. He was misunderstood by all except by his soldiery, who, in those wretched times, were by him inspired with an enthusiasm, and who fought with a spirit worthy of a better age. But the fine army, disciplined by him, was shamefully neglected on the death of its commander. Favourites, men of undoubted incapacity, were appointed to the highest military posts, the number of which was immensely multiplied. There were no fewer than nineteen imperial field-marshals and a still greater number of field-lieutenant-marshals, masters of the ordnance, etc., all of whom were in the receipt of large salaries, were utterly devoid of military knowledge, and refused to recognise each other's authority. The war establishment was reckoned from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty thousand men, but forty thousand alone had been levied and those were allowed to starve. The whole of the pay flowed into the pockets of the superior officers. The military court-council and the field-marshals played into each other's hands, and the officers, from the highest to the lowest, emulated each other in dishonesty and fraud. The emperor, notwithstanding these abuses, deemed it possible, with an army of this description, to make great conquests in Turkey capable of repaying his losses

* On the accession of Jerome, Napoleon's brother, to the throne of Westphalia, it was said, "It is but just that a Corsican nobleman should become king of Westphalia, a Westphalian nobleman having been king of Corsica."

† The counts of Savoy boasted of their descent from the ancient Saxon line of Wittekind.

in the West. Count Seckendorf, a Protestant, (the prototype of the chattering oracles and busy speculators, who were, at a later period, looked up to as prodigies in Catholic countries, merely on account of their being Protestants,) was placed at the head of the army, which was also accompanied by Francis of Lorraine as voluntary field-marshal. The Turks, ever accustomed to make the attack, were taken by surprise. Seckendorf [A. D. 1737] took the important fortress of Nissa, but his further operations were so clumsily conducted and the army was in such a state of demoralization that all speedily went wrong. Money and provisions became scarce, then failed altogether; the soldiery murmured; the jealous Catholic generals refused obedience to the Protestant generalissimo. General Doxat yielded Nissa without a blow on the approach of the Turks; an offence for which he afterwards lost his head. Seckendorf, accused by his enemies, was recalled and thrown into prison, and the emperor, like Ferdinand II. in Wallenstein's case, denied the commands, imposed by himself on his general, and threw the whole blame upon him alone. Seckendorf remained a prisoner until the emperor's death.

The campaign of 1738 was opened by Kœnigsegg, who, unexpectedly penetrating into the country, was successful at Kornia, but was left without reinforcements and speedily recalled. He was replaced by Wallis, who blindly obeyed the senseless orders of the military court-council, and, taking up a most unfavourable position, placed himself in the power of the Turks, who, commanded by French officers, among others by Bonneval, who had been raised to the dignity of pacha, crushed him by their superior numbers at Kruska. He lost twenty thousand men, and retreated in dismay, leaving Belgrade, whither he could have retired in perfect safety, behind him. General Schmettau hurried to Vienna and offered to defend Belgrade, but exhorted to speedy measures. The emperor, however, trusted neither him nor Kœnigsegg, in fact, no one who discovered energy or a love of honour. Schmettau was commissioned to bear to General Succow, an officer utterly incompetent to fill the office, his confirmation in the command of Belgrade. Wallis received full power to negotiate terms and instantly offered to yield Belgrade, a step to which necessity alone could have induced the emperor to accede. Immediately after this, the emperor

sent a second ambassador, Neipperg, who, ignorant of the negotiations entered into by Wallis, refused to sacrifice Belgrade, and was, consequently, treated with every mark of indignity by the Turks, who spat in his face, supposing him to be a spy. Bound in chains, in momentary expectation of death, Neipperg also lost his presence of mind, offered to yield Belgrade, and, through the mediation of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, to whom Russia had also given carte blanche on this occasion, concluded the scandalous peace of Belgrade, by which Belgrade, Servia, and Wallachia were once more delivered up to Turkey. Succow, notwithstanding Schmettau's remonstrances, yielded Belgrade, [A. D. 1739,] before the ratification of the treaty at Vienna. Wallis and Neipperg suffered a short imprisonment, but were, on account of their connexion with the aristocracy, at that period omnipotent, shortly restored to favour and reinstated in their offices. Schmettau entered the Prussian service.

The house of Habsburg became extinct in 1749. Charles conduced, even in a greater degree than his father, to stamp the Austrians, more especially the Viennese, with the character by which they are, even at the present day, distinguished. The Austrians were formerly noted for their chivalric spirit and still more so for their constitutional liberty. During the unhappy struggle for liberty of conscience their character became deeply tragical and parallel in dignity to that of any other nation ennobled by misfortune, but, during the reign of Charles VI., it took a thoughtlessly good-humoured, frivolous, almost burlesque tone. The memory of their ancestors' rights had faded away, the horrid butchery was forgotten; the education of the Jesuits had, in the third generation, eradicated every serious thought, had habituated the people to blind obedience, whilst they amused them, like children, with spiritual comedies, to which the great comedy, acted by the court, was a fitting accompaniment. The person of the monarch was, it is true, strictly guarded by Spanish etiquette, but his innumerable crowd of attendants, fattening in idleness and luxury, ere long infected the whole nation with their licence and love of gaiety. The court of Vienna was entirely on a Spanish footing; the palace, the pleasure-grounds, the Prater, an imitation of the Prado at Madrid, the ceremonies, even the dress, notwithstanding the ill accordance be-

tween the great Spanish hat and drooping feathers and the short mantle with the allonge peruke lately introduced by the French. The emperor was beheld with distant awe as a being superior to the rest of mankind; he was, even in privacy, surrounded by pomp and circumstance; his name could not be uttered without a genuflection. He was surrounded by a court consisting of no fewer than forty thousand individuals, all of whom aided in the consumption of the public revenue. The six offices filled by the lord chief steward, the lord chief chamberlain, the lord chief marshal, the lord chief equerry, the lord chief master of the chase, and the lord chief master of the falcons, each of whom superintended an immensely numerous royal household, took precedence. There were, for instance, two hundred and twenty-six chamberlains. Then followed twelve offices of state, the privy council, (the highest government office,) the military council, the imperial council, three councils of finance, (the court of conference, the exchequer, and board of revenues,) a chief court of justice, (into which the provincial government of Lower Austria had been converted,) and five especial governments for Spain, the Netherlands, Hungary, Transylvania, and Bohemia, all of which resided at Vienna. There were, besides these, the embassies, a prodigious number, every count, prelate, baron, and city of the empire having, at that period, an agent in Vienna. The whole of the year was unalterably prearranged, every court fête predetermined. Then came a succession of church festivals, with solemn processions, festivals of the knights of the golden fleece, and that of the ladies of the order of the cross, instituted [A. D. 1688] by Eleonora, the consort of Ferdinand III., etc.; tasteless family fêtes, with fire-works, senseless allegories, and speeches in an unheard-of bombastical style, imitated from the half-oriental one of Spain. The machinery of this world of wonder was managed by the prime minister, Count Sinzendorf, an execrable statesman but—an admirable cook. Half Vienna was fed from the imperial kitchens and cellars. Two casks of Tokay were daily reckoned for softening the bread for the empress's parrots; twelve quarts of the best wine for the empress's night-draught, and twelve buckets of wine for her daily bath.

The people were reduced to the lowest grade of servility. The Lower Austrian Estates, on the occasion of taking the

oath of allegiance, thus addressed Charles VI.: "The light of heaven is obscured by your Majesty's inimitable splendour. The universe is not spacious enough to be the scene of such events, when your most faithful and obedient Estates reach the height of happiness by casting themselves at the feet of your Majesty. The ancient golden age is iron in comparison with the present one illumined by the sun of our prosperity. Your faithful and submissive Estates would, on this account, have erected a splendid temple, like that of Augustus, consecrated to returning peace and prosperity, could any thing have been any where discovered that was not already possessed by your imperial Majesty." Conlin, in the notes to his Poetical Biography of Charles VI., gives an account of the reception of the empress at Linz, which is equally entertaining. In Vienna, the numerous sinecures enabled adventurers, the upper and lower lacqueys, to live a riotous life, which affected the morals of the people. Eating and drinking became an affair of the utmost importance; adultery and immorality among the nobility a mark of bon ton; the search after amusement the citizen's sole occupation. The Spanish austerity of the court had, notwithstanding, prevented immorality, under the name of philosophy, from supplanting religion, as had been the case in France. Frivolity was confined to the limits of a jest reconcilable with the established piety or rather bigotry, and thus came into vogue, Stranitzki, in the Leopoldstadt theatre, by means of this tone exciting the inextinguishable laughter of the populace, and Father Abraham making use of it in his sermons at Santa Clara.

Vienna, on the reconciliation between the emperor and the pope, was erected into a bishopric, A. D. 1772. The emperor, like his predecessors, was a slave to the priests and expended as much upon church festivals as upon court fêtes. The most extraordinary splendour was displayed in 1729, on the canonization of St. John von Nepomuk by the pope. The festival, which lasted eight days, was participated in by the whole of the Austrian monarchy, nay, by the whole of Catholic Christendom. Vienna was the scene of unusual pomp; the interior of St. Stephen's was hung with purple; the courtiers and citizens vied with each other in splendour. Almost the whole population of Bohemia poured into Prague; more than four hundred processions of townships bearing offerings, as to a pagan sa-

crifice; Altbunzlau with garnets and rubies, Kœnigsgrætz with pheasants, Chrudim with crystals, Czaslau with silver, Kaurziem with evergreen plants, Bechin with salmon, Prachin with pearls and gold sand, Pilsen with a white lamb, Saaz with ears of corn, Leitmeritz with wine, Rakonitz with salt, etc. The whole of the city and its innumerable towers were splendidly illuminated. An immense procession marched to Nepomuk, the saint's birth-place, with numbers of figures and pictures of the Virgin and saints, banners and dramatic representations, taken from the life of the saint.*——At that pious period lived the Tyrolean Capuchin, Father Gabriel Pontifeser, who enjoyed great repute as confessor to Maria Anna, queen of Spain, consort to Charles II., the last of the Habsburg dynasty, but who refused every post of honour and contented himself with erecting a Capuchin monastery in his native town, Clausen, with Spanish gold. The queen adorned it with valuable pictures, etc., part of which were [A. D. 1809] carried to Munich. At that time also died at Cappel in the Pazuaunthal the pious pastor, Adam Schmid, who was so beloved by the people that numerous tapers are still kept burning around his tomb as around that of a saint.†

CCXXXII. *The courts of Germany.*

Augustus of Saxony expired A. D. 1733, leaving three hundred and fifty-two children, amongst whom, Maurice, known as the marshal of Saxony, the son of the beautiful Aurora, Countess of Kœnigsmark,‡ equalled him in extraordinary physical strength and surpassed him in intellect, but, as a French general, turned the talents which, under other circumstances, he might have devoted to the service of his country, against Germany. Flemming, the powerful minister, also died, leaving sixteen million dollars, of which he had robbed the country, and half of which his widow was compelled to relinquish. The most notorious of the king's mistresses,

* See Schottky, The Carlovingian Age.

† Beda, Weber's Tyrol.

‡ She was cold, intriguing, and busied herself, as her Memoirs show, with money matters. She became provostess of Quedlinburg, "for which," as Uffenbach writes in his Travels, "her fine, large, majestic figure, but not her well-known character, well suited."

Countess Cosel, had drawn from him twenty million dollars. Saxony had fallen a prey to the most depraved of both sexes. The whole of these shameful acts are recounted in the "Gallant Saxon" of Baron von Pöllnitz and in the Memoirs of the Margravine of Bayreuth. The descriptions of the fêtes given at Morizburg to the Countess Aurora von Kœnigsmark or in honour of foreign princes, his guests, graphically depicture the luxury of this royal debauché. Mythological representations were performed on an immense scale, festivals of Venus in the pleasure-gardens, festivals of Diana in the forests, festivals of Neptune on the Elbe, on which occasions a Venetian Bucentaur, frigates, brigantines, gondolas, and sailors dressed in satin and silk stockings, were paraded; festivals of Saturn in the Saxon mines; besides tournaments, peasants' fêtes, fairs, masquerades, and fancy balls, in which the army as well as the whole court sustained a part. He kept Janissaries, Moors, Heiducken,* Swiss, a name now signifying body-guardsmen or porters, and put the common soldiers and court-menials during the celebration of fêtes into such varied disguises, as, in a certain degree, to transform the whole country into a theatre. In Wackerbarth's biography, there is a description of a firework, for which eighteen thousand trunks of trees were used, and of a gigantic allegorical picture which was painted upon six thousand ells of cloth. One party of pleasure at Mühlberg cost six million dollars. Architecture was rendered subservient to these follies. The Japan palace alone contained genuine Chinese porcelain to the amount of a million dollars, besides sumptuous carpets composed of feathers. At Dresden, a hall is still shown completely furnished with the ostrich and heron plumes used at these fêtes. Luxury and a tasteless love of splendour were alone fostered by this unheard-of extravagance, and it was merely owing to a happy chance that the purchase of the Italian antiques and pictures, which laid the foundation to the magnificent Dresden gallery, flattered the pride of king Augustus. His private treasury, the celebrated green vaults, were, like his fêtes, utterly devoid of taste. There were to be seen immense heaps of precious stones, gold and silver, a room full of pearls, columns of ostriches' eggs, curious works of art, clocks, and all manner of toys, each of which cost enor-

* Attendants in the Hungarian costume. TRANSLATOR.

mous sums. One of these costly pieces, clever enough, represents a harlequin cudgelling a peasant, each of the figures being formed out of a single pearl of immense size. This was, in point of fact, the only relation between the prince and the people. The cries of the people were unheard; of the provincial Estates a servile committee alone acted; and Augustus, in the plenitude of his condescension, in return for the enormous contributions granted by his Estates, yielded, after a parley of twenty-nine years, to the desire of his people, and published new reformed regulations for the diet, intended to stop the mouths of all malcontents, which, with open mockery, he reserved to himself the power, "in his paternal love for his people, of altering and improving."

Augustus III., his son and successor on the throne of Saxony, although personally more temperate, allowed his favourite, Brühl, on whom he bestowed the dignity of Count, to continue the old system of dissipation. Brühl, who had an annual salary of 50,000 dollars, without reckoning the immense landed property bestowed upon him, erected his palace in the vicinity of the royal residence, and, like a major-domo or grand visir, surpassed his royal master in luxury of every description. He held a numerous court, and, as he ever placed his servants in the highest and most lucrative offices, the nobility contested for the honour of sending their sons, as pages, into his service. His wardrobe was the most magnificent in the empire; he had always a hundred pair of shoes, and other articles of dress in hundreds by him, all of which were made in Paris. He had a cabinet filled with Parisian perukes. Even the pastry on his table was sent from Paris. In order to raise the sums required for his maintenance, he seized all deposits, even the money belonging to wards, and, under the title of "contributions," made great loans from wealthy individuals, particularly at Leipzig, for which he gave bank-bills, which speedily fell so much in value as to be refused acceptance. He also established a general property tax and continually alienated crown property. He was, moreover, professionally a traitor to his country and sold his master to the highest bidder. At that period, the petty collateral Saxon line of Merseburg, founded, A. D. 1653, by Christian, a son of John George, became extinct. The last duke was such a fiddle-fancier that he was always accom-

panied by a carriage filled with those instruments, and so imbecile, that his wanton consort, on the birth of an illegitimate child, pacified him by declaring that the infant had brought with it into the world a gigantic bass-viol, which she had ordered to be made for him.

The Saxon dukes of the Ernestine line were divided into several houses. Ernest, duke of Weimar, A. D. 1736, forbade his subjects "to reason under pain of correction." Frederick, duke of Gotha, gave the first example of the shameful traffic in men, afterwards so often imitated, by selling [A. D. 1733] four thousand impressed recruits to the emperor for 120,000 florins, and, in 1744, three regiments to the Dutch. He occupied Meiningen with his troops and supported the nobles in their rebellion against his cousin, Antony Ulric, who had persuaded the emperor to bestow upon his consort, Elisabeth Cæsar,* a handsome chambermaid, the rank of princess, and to declare his children capable of succeeding to his titles. The nobility triumphed, and the children were, by a shameful decree of the Estates of the empire, declared incapable of succeeding to their father's possessions; the hopes of Gotha were, nevertheless, frustrated, Antony Ulric instantly contracting a second marriage with a princess of Hesse, who brought him a numerous family.

In Bavaria, Maximilian Emanuel II. reigned until 1726. He was the author of great calamities. It was entirely owing to his disloyalty, to the treacherous diversion raised by him to the rear of the imperial army, that France was not completely beaten in the commencement of the war of succession. Nor was his close alliance with France merely transient, for, in the ensuing century, his became the ruling policy of almost every court in Western Germany. The elector, perverted by Villars and others of the French courtiers, solely made use of the French tongue, and, surrounded by female singers and dancing-girls, imitated every Parisian vice. His consort, Theresa Cunigunda, the daughter of Sobieski, the noble

* Frederick William, the reigning duke, Antony Ulric's elder brother, disapproved of this marriage, and, on the death of Elisabeth, who, happily for herself, died early, allowed her coffin to remain unburied, merely sprinkled over with sand. On his death, he was treated with similar indignity by his brother, who left both coffins standing side by side in this condition during a year.

sovereign of Poland, filled with disgust at the licentious manners of the court, became, under the guidance of the Jesuit, Schmacke, a strict devotee. The elector, in order to escape the reproaches of his Bavarian subjects, chiefly resided, in his quality of stadtholder of the Netherlands, at Brussels, where, in one continued maze of pleasure, he lavished on his mistresses and expended in horses, of which he kept twelve hundred, and in pictures, which he had a good opportunity to collect in the Netherlands, such enormous sums, as to render the imposition of triple taxes necessary in Bavaria. The provincial diet had not been consulted since 1699. His son, Charles Albert, who reigned until 1746, was equally the slave of luxury. He was passionately fond of hunting, and kept, besides his mistresses, an immense number of dogs. Keyssler, who, in the course of his interesting travels, visited Bavaria in 1729, gives the following account; "The electoress, Maria Amelia, a little and delicate lady, shoots well at a mark, and often wades up to her knees in a bog whilst following the chace. Her shooting-dress is a green coat and trowsers and a little white peruke. She has a great fancy for dogs, which is plainly evident at Nymphenburg by the bad smell of the red damask carpets and beds. The little English greyhounds are valued most highly. The electoress, when at table, is surrounded by a good number of them, and one sits on either side of her, seizing every thing within their reach. Near her bed a dog has a little tent with a cushion, and on one side hangs a bust of Christ with the crown of thorns.——There is a couch for a dog close to the elector's bed, and there are couches for twelve more in the fine writing-room adjoining." The electoress becoming jealous of her husband's mistresses, a terrible quarrel ensued, in which he physically ill-treated her. Sophia von Ingenheim was his favourite. He established the lotteries, so destructive to the morals of the people, in Bavaria.

The other Wittelsbach branch in the Pfalz pursued a similar career. The elector, Philip William, who succeeded to the government, A. D. 1685, died in 1690. His son, John William, fled, on account of the disturbances during the war, from the Upper Rhine to Düsseldorf, the capital of Juliers, where he followed in the steps of his cousin Maximilian at Brussels, kept a harem and made a valuable collection of pictures. On his death,

in 1716, his brother, Charles Philip, assisted by the Jesuit, Usleber, inflicted the most terrible cruelties on the Pfalz and renewed [A. D. 1742] the violent religious persecution, whilst indulging in passions that disgraced his years, until death relieved the afflicted country from this monster, and Charles Theodore, of the line of Sulzbach, a sensualist of a milder nature, succeeded to the government. Gustavus Samuel, duke of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, had, [A. D. 1696,] during a visit to Rome, turned Catholic, in order to obtain a divorce from his wife and permission to wed a daughter of one of his servants, named Hoffman.

Hesse gained the county of Hanau in 1736. The last count, John Reinhard, died; his daughter, Charlotte, married Prince Louis of Darmstadt; the county was, nevertheless, divided between Darmstadt and Cassel. During the life of William, Landgrave of Cassel, his son, the hereditary prince, Frederick, secretly turned Catholic. His father, however, frustrated the plans of the Jesuits by convoking the provincial Estates, demanding a guarantee from the Protestant princes, binding the hereditary prince by a will whereby the Catholics were deprived of all their hopes, and separating the prince from his sons, who were brought up in the Protestant faith.

Licence was carried to the greatest excess in Baden-Durlach, where the Margrave, Charles William, built Carlsruhe in the midst of the forests, A. D. 1715, and, in imitation of the celebrated French deer-parks, kept a hundred and sixty garden nymphs, who bore him a countless number of children. The scandal caused by this conduct induced him, in 1722, to dismiss all except sixty or seventy of the most beautiful. He kept his favourites shut up in the celebrated leaden tower, which still forms the handle to the great double fan, formed half by the streets of Carlsruhe, half by the alleys stretching through the forest contiguous to the palace. During his promenades and journeys he was accompanied by girls disguised as Heiducks.

In Würtemberg, the duke, Everard, left, A. D. 1674, a son, William Louis, who dying A. D. 1677, his brother, Frederick Charles, undertook the guardianship of his son, Everard Louis, then in his first year.* This regent discovered ex-

* Everard's brother's son, Sylvius Nimrod, married a daughter of the last duke of Münsterberg, A. D. 1647, of the house of Podiebrad, in

treme imbecility, and, after the shameful seizure of the city of Strassburg by Louis XIV., visited Paris for the purpose of paying his respects to that monarch, notwithstanding, or rather on account of which, the French king allowed Melac to plunder the territory of Würtemberg. What was there to be apprehended from a coward? Everard Louis, who attained his majority in 1693, instead of healing the wounds of his country, extended his household, gave magnificent fêtes, grandes battues, and [A. D. 1702] founded the order of St. Hubert, the patron of the chace, etc. What reason had he for constraint, when the Tübingen theologians carried on a violent dispute with the Dillinger Jesuits, whether the Catholic or the Lutheran faith was more advantageous for princes, and the Tübingen chancellor, Pfaff, gained the victory by clearly demonstrating that no faith allowed more latitude to princes than the Lutheran. In the absence of native nobility, who had, under Ulric, duke of Würtemberg, abandoned the country, foreign nobles were attracted to the court for the purpose of heightening its splendour. It was in this manner that a Mademoiselle von Grævenitz, accompanied by her brother, came from Mecklenburg to Stuttgard, and, ere long, became the declared mistress of the duke. Nay, a clergyman was even found, although the duke was already married, to perform the marriage ceremony. This open bigamy scandalized both the emperor and the empire. The departure of Grævenitz was insisted upon, but was refused by the duke until the provincial Estates had, by way of compensation, voted a sum of 200,000 florins. But, scarcely had the duke received the money than Grævenitz returned, apparently married to a Count Würben, a Viennese, who had lent himself for a consideration to this purpose, and who, after being created grand provincial governor of Würtemberg, was sent out of the country. His wife, the grand provincial governess, remained for twenty years in undisputed possession of the duke, and governed the country in his name. Her brother figured as prime minister, and, as she furnished the court of Vienna with money and the king of Prussia from time to time with giants for his guard, she was protected by foreign powers. She was named,

whose right he laid claim to the Silesian duchy of Œls, which the dukes of Münsterberg had received, A. D. 1495, from Wladislaw, king of Bohemia, in exchange for the demesne of Podiebrad in Bohemia.

and with truth, the destroyer of the country, for she sold offices and justice, commuted all punishments by fine, extorted money by threats, bestowed the most important commercial monopolies on Jews,* mortgaged and sold the crown lands, etc. She managed the duke's treasury and—her own. His was ever empty, hers ever full; she lent money to the duke, who repaid her in land. By means of spies, the violation of private correspondence, and a strict police, she suppressed the murmurs of the people. Osiander, the churchman, alone had the courage to reply, on her demanding to be included in the prayers of the church, "Madame, we pray daily, 'O Lord, preserve us from evil.'" It was forbidden under pain of punishment to speak ill of her. The provincial Estates attempting to defend themselves from the enormous exactions, the duke threatened the "individuals," in case the assembly any longer opposed his demands. During the famine of 1713, the peasants were compelled to plant great part of their land with tobacco. On the increasing discontent of the people and of the Estates, which showed itself more particularly at Stuttgard, the duke quitted that city and erected a new residence, Ludwigsburg, A. D. 1716, at an immense expense. On laying the foundation-stone, he caused such a quantity of bread to be thrown to the assembled multitude that several people narrowly escaped being crushed to death. The general want increased, and, in 1717, the first great migration of the people of Würtemberg to North America took place. The countess at length demanded as her right as possessor of the lordship of Welzheim a seat and a vote on the Franconian bench of counts of the empire, which being granted in her stead to her brother, a quarrel ensued, and he took part with her enemies against her. She also ventured to treat the duke with extreme insolence. Her beauty had long passed away with her youth, and, on the presentation of the beautiful Countess Wittgenstein, her empire completely ended. She was imprisoned and deprived of her immense demesnes. On

* On one occasion she seized a quantity of English goods for her wardrobe, and the duke wore some of the stolen gold brocade in public. On another occasion, a person offering her 5000 florins for an apothecary's licence, she took the money, gave a receipt, but did not send the patent. The person called in order to freshen her memory. The countess could not recall the circumstance, demanded the receipt in proof, took it away and did not reappear. The person in question received neither the money nor the patent.

the death of the duke, she lost still more of her ill-gotten wealth, and the court Jew, Süss, her agent, also privately robbed her.

Everard Louis expired A. D. 1733, leaving no issue, and was succeeded by his Catholic cousin, Charles Alexander, who, although a distinguished officer, was totally inept for government. He intrusted the helm of state to his court Jew, Süss Oppenheimer, who shamelessly robbed the country. He established a "gratification court," where all the offices of state were sold to the highest bidder; "a court of exchequer," where justice was put up to auction. To those who were unable to pay he lent money at the rate of a gros per florin (the Jews' groschen). He also kept a large shop, from which he furnished the court wardrobes, and established a lottery for his private gain. He, moreover, extended the system of monopoly to leather, groceries, coffee-houses, even to the cleaning of chimneys, as well as the right of pre-emption, as, for instance, in regard to wood; and, lastly, burthened the country, even foreigners during their residence in it, with a heavy protection, income, and family tax, A. D. 1736. He also gave way to the most unbridled licence, and either by fraud or by violence disturbed the peace of families.——The patient endurance of the people and the example of the Pfalz inspired the Jesuits with the hope of recatholicizing Würtemberg by means of her Catholic duke. The first step was to place the Catholics on an equal footing with the Protestants, and a conspiracy, in which Süss took part, was entered into for that purpose. Troops were expected from the bishop of Würzburg. Orders were prepared for the Würtemberg household troops. The people were to be disarmed under pretext of putting a stop to poaching. The duke, who, it was probably feared, might, if present, oppose severe measures, was to be temporarily removed. The ancient constitution was to be done away with; "The hydra head of the people shall be crushed," wrote General Remchingen, one of the chief conspirators, to Fichtel, the duke's privy-counsellor. But, during the night of the 13th of March, 1737, the duke suddenly expired, a few hours before the time fixed for his departure. He was long supposed to have been assassinated, but, most probably, died of apoplexy. His cousin, Charles Rudolph, undertook the government during the minority of his son, Charles Eugene, who was then in his ninth year. The Ca-

tholic conspiracy fell to the ground; Remchingen fled; the Jew, Süss, was exposed on the gallows* in an iron cage.

The first elector of Hanover, Ernest Augustus, who suddenly restored the power of the divided and immoral Guelphic house, was not free from the faults of the age. Although the champion of the honour of Germany, he was a slave to French fashions, unprincipled and licentious, faithless and ungrateful to his noble consort, Sophia, in whose right his son mounted the throne of Great Britain, and built Montbrilland for his mistress, Madame von Kielmansegge, and the Fantaisie for the other, the Countess Platen. His Italian chapel-director, Stephani, controlled the government. His neglected consort, Sophia, a woman of high intelligence, consoled herself by her friendship for Leibnitz, the greatest genius of the day. George, his son and successor, married a near relation, Sophia Dorothea, the daughter of the last duke of Celle, who, becoming enamoured of a Count Kœnigsmark, attempted to fly with him in the design of turning Catholic. Her plan was discovered and frustrated; the count was beheaded and she was detained a prisoner for life, A. D. 1691. The elector, notwithstanding the severity with which he visited adultery in his wife, was not free from a similar imputation. He kept numerous mistresses, among others, Irmengarde Melusina von Schulenburg, who gained such undisputed sway over him, that he took her to England on his accession to the throne, created her duchess of Kendal, and induced Charles VI. to bestow upon her the title of Eberstein as princess of the empire. He mounted the British throne, A. D. 1714, and, in order to confirm his seat, completely devoted himself to the interests of Great Britain. Hanover was utterly neglected and converted into an English province, a stepping-stone for England into the German empire. The fact that the absence of the prince afforded no alleviation of the popular burthens is characteristic of the times. The electoral household, notwithstanding the unvarying absence of the elector, remained on its former footing for

* These gallows were made of the iron which Honauer had attempted to turn into gold. Honauer first adorned them in 1597, then the Jew Süss, three alchymists, Montani, Muscheler, and Von Mühlenfels, a Stuttgard incendiary, and, lastly, a thief, who had attempted to steal the iron from the same gallows. They were very high and weighed thirty-six hundred weight and twelve pounds.

the purpose of imposing upon the multitude and of assuring lucrative appointments to the nobility. The palace bore no appearance of being deserted; except the elector himself, not a courtier, not a single gold-laced lacquey, was wanting to complete the court; the horses stamped in the stalls, nay, the fiction of the royal presence was carried to such a degree that the Hanoverians were cited for their devotion to royalty and for their rage for titles. The courtiers, resident in Hanover, assembled every Sunday in the electoral palace. In the hall of assembly stood an arm-chair, upon which the monarch's portrait was placed. Each courtier on entering bowed low to this portrait, and the whole assembly, as if awestruck by the presence of Majesty, conversed in low tones for about an hour, when the banquet, a splendid repast prepared at the elector's expense, was announced. The clemency, whereby the fate of the subjects of other states is sometimes alleviated, had, however, disappeared with the monarch, and to this may be attributed the rude arrogance of the nobility and the cruelty of legislature, which, even up to the present time, retained the use of torture. The example offered by the people and parliament of England might have been followed, but the Hanoverian diet had slumbered since 1657 and merely vegetated in the form of an aristocratic committee. The minister, von Münchhausen, was the first who governed, as far as the spirit and circumstances of the times allowed, in a patriotic sense. He gained great distinction by founding the university of Gœttingen, which he richly endowed, A. D. 1737. Royal Hanover no longer condescended to send her subjects to the little university of Helmstædt in Wolfenbüttel.

In Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, the aged duke, Antony Ulric, who gave way to unbridled licence in his palace of Salzdahlum, but who promoted science by the extension of the celebrated Wolfenbüttel library,* turned Catholic when nearly eighty, in order to testify his delight at the marriage of his granddaughter with the emperor, Charles VI. His son, Augustus William, imitated his luxury, and, guided by a certain von Dehn, gave himself up to all the fashionable vices of the day and persecuted Münchhausen. He was succeeded by his brother, Louis Rudolph, [A. D. 1731,] by whom order was restored.

* Better than by his wearisome romances and his expensive Italian opera.

He left no issue, and was succeeded [A. D. 1735] by Ferdinand Albert von Bevern, (a younger branch, founded by a brother of Antony Ulric,) a learned collector of scientific objects, who was shortly afterwards succeeded by his son, Charles.

In Mecklenburg, the scandalous government of Charles Leopold was succeeded by the milder one of his brother, Christian Louis, A. D. 1719.

In East Frizeland, George Albert, the son of Christian Everard, continued the contest with the Estates and the city of Emden, and created, in opposition to the ancient Estates or malcontents, fresh and obedient ones. Right was in this instance again unprotected by the emperor and the empire, by whom the ancient Estates were denounced as rebels. Emden resisted, several bloody battles took place, but at length the Danes came to the count's assistance, the ancient Estates were suppressed, and the property of the malcontents was confiscated. Charles Edzard, the count's son, married [A. D. 1727] a princess of Bayreuth, and entered into an agreement by which, on his dying without issue, in 1744, East Frizeland was annexed to Prussia.

In Denmark, Frederick IV. married Anna Sophia, the beautiful daughter of his chancellor, Reventlow. Extravagant devotion was brought into vogue during the reign of his son, Christian VI., by his consort, Sophia Magdalena, a princess of Bayreuth, and by her court chaplain, Blume, A. D. 1746. The celebrated minister, Bernstorf, commenced a beneficial reform in the administration under his son, Frederick V.

Holstein had severely suffered during the war and under the licentious government of Count Görtz, after whose execution the affairs of state were conducted almost equally ill by the family of Bassewitz in the name of the youthful duke. The nobility were extremely cruel and intractable. In 1721, a Ranzau caused his elder brothers to be assassinated; another, in 1722, starved several of his serfs to death in prison. Both were merely punished by a short imprisonment. A third member of this family had, however, as early as 1688, offered a very contrary example, by being the first to liberate the serfs on his estates. A controversy among the priesthood caused the citizens of Kiel [A. D. 1708] to rise in open insur-

rection. The Ditmarsch peasantry revolted [A. D. 1740] on account of the abuses to which the levy of recruits gave rise.

Leopold von Dessau was the only one among the fallen princes of the house of Anhalt who earned distinction. He reformed the Prussian army, introduced the use of metal ramrods and a rapid movement of closed columns, and prepared Prussia for the great part she was henceforward to perform on the theatre of war in Europe.* He was extremely rough in his manners, was subject to ungovernable fits of fury, was, moreover, a drunkard, and tyrannized over the people of Dessau. He, nevertheless, lived in great harmony with the beautiful daughter of an apothecary,† who was recognised by the emperor.

A collateral branch of the house of Hohenzollern-Brandenburg, the reigning one of Prussia, continued to reign in the Margraviates of Bayreuth and Ansbach. Christian Ernest of Bayreuth [A. D. 1712] created the alchymist, Krohnemann, prime minister, but sent him, nevertheless, to the gallows for his ill-success in discovering the secret of making gold. His son, George William, founded the far-famed Hermitage, where the hermit passed his days in wanton luxury. His son, Frederick, married the celebrated princess, Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia, sister to Frederick the Great, whose Memoirs so graphically depicture the times. She has unhesitatingly and unsparingly described both her father's and husband's court and related all the events of that period: the fact that a princess could thus speak of her own relations is a strong proof, were any wanting, of the prevalence of French frivolity. Her husband had [A. D. 1743] founded the university of Erlangen, but was, notwithstanding, a mere lover of the chace, and was first misled by her to spend sums in the erection of palaces, theatres, etc., ill-suited to the revenue of his petty territory.

Charles William Frederick von Ansbach, who succeeded to the government in 1729, was feared as a madman and a tyrant. He intrusted the administration to the nobility, more par-

* He was the darling of the soldiery, and the Dessau march, long after his time, led the Prussians to victory.

† Anna Louisa Föhse, the apothecary's daughter, had steadily refused to become his mistress. He remained, on his side, faithful to her during his campaigns and married her on succeeding to the government. She bore him ten children, five of whom were sons. Three fell and the other two were severely wounded during the seven years' war.

ticularly to the family of Seckendorf, whilst he gave himself up to the pleasures of the chace, to a couple of mistresses, and to fits of rage, which caused him to imbrue his hands in the blood of others. He was for some time completely guided by a Jew, named Isaac Nathan, who practised financial swindling, and, for a short period, solely reigned under the title of "resident." The little Margrave, wishing to bestow a great honour on the English monarch, sent him the red order of the eagle set in brilliants. The Jew, Ischerlein, who was on an understanding with Nathan, undertook the commission and falsified the diamonds, which was instantly perceived by King George, who accordingly neglected to send a reply to the Margrave. An inquiry took place and the imposition was discovered. The Margrave instantly sent for the Jew and for a headsman. Ischerlein came, was bound down to a chair, but no sooner caught sight of the headsman, than, springing up, he ran, with the chair attached to him, round the long table standing in the middle of the hall, until the headsman, encouraged by the Margrave, at length contrived to strike off his head across the table. Nor did the resident escape the Margrave's wrath; he was closely imprisoned, deprived of the whole of his ill-gotten wealth, and [A. D. 1740] expelled the country. The Margrave, during another of his fits of rage, shot the keeper of his hounds. He died of apoplexy, caused by the fury to which he was roused by the conduct of Mayer, the Prussian general, who, at that period, A. D. 1757, chastised the petty princes of the empire.——These Margraves of Ansbach and Bayreuth appeared as protectors of Protestantism in opposition to the princes of Hohenlohe, (Bartenstein and Schillingsfürst,) who, as Catholics, tyrannized over their Protestant relatives, the Counts von Hohenlohe, (Œhringen,) attempted to abrogate the consistory at Œhringen and to extirpate Protestantism. The Margrave's troops compelled the princes to remain tranquil, and, notwithstanding the loud complaints of the Bavarian Jesuits, to make full restitution.

CCXXXIII. *The ecclesiastical courts.—The Salzburg emigration.*

THE archbishops and prince-bishops of the Catholic church, instead of being taught by the great lesson inculcated by the

Reformation, emulated the temporal princes in luxury and licence. Clement of Cologne, brother to the elector of Bavaria, had fixed his voluptuous court at Bonn. Here, French alone was spoken, and luxury was carried to such a height that even during Lent there were no fewer than twenty dishes on the archiepiscopal table. This gallant churchman had a hundred and fifty chamberlains and passed great part of his time at Paris, where he associated with the licentious courtiers and acted in a manner that inspired even the French with astonishment. Duclos relates, "It was very strange to see the elector of Cologne, who resided at Paris, standing in the royal presence, the king sitting in an arm-chair, and, when dining with the Dauphin, sitting among the courtiers at the lowest end of the table. When at Valenciennes, he caused his intention of preaching on the first of April to be proclaimed. The church was thronged on the given day. The elector mounted the pulpit, gravely bowed to the assembly, made the sign of the cross, and exclaiming, 'April fools all of ye!' descended amid the sound of trumpets, hunting-horns, and kettle-drums, and quitted the church." The city of Cologne was completely ruined under his government. The religious persecution drove all the industrious manufacturers and traders into the neighbouring country and enriched Mühlheim, Dusseldorf, and Elberfeld at the expense of Cologne, which was at length almost solely inhabited by monks and beggars.

The bishops, to whom the venerable episcopal cities and cathedrals offered a silent reproof, withdrew, for the more undisturbed enjoyment of their pleasures, to more modern residences, where they revelled in magnificence and luxury. Bonn, Bruchsal, and Dillingen severally afforded a voluptuous retreat to the archbishops of Cologne, Spires, and Augsburg. John Philip Francis, bishop of Würzburg, a scion of the noble house of Schönborn, held an extremely splendid court. His palace and the buildings appertaining to it were built on the plan of Versailles, and are, even at the present day, objects of admiration.* He was, moreover, bishop of Bamberg, where he held

* One of his predecessors, Peter Philip von Dornbach, had [A. D. 1669] thrown the cornet, Eckhard von Peckern, a handsome youth, whose attractions were, in the eyes of a Madame von Polheim, superior to those of the bishop, into prison and starved him to death. See Schramberg's article concerning the family of Dornbach.

a separate court, to which no less than thirty chamberlains belonged. Father Horn, who ventured to preach against ecclesiastical luxury and licence, languished for twenty years chained in a deep dungeon at Würzburg, until 1750, when death released him from his sufferings. The archbishop of Salzburg had twenty-three chamberlains and sixteen courtiers, the châteaux of Mirabella, Klessheim, and Hellbrünn, establishments, completely on a temporal footing, with pleasure-gardens, basons, fountains, grottos with statues of naked divinities, nymphs and satyrs, a menagerie, orangery, and theatre. Luxury was here hereditary and was transmitted from one archbishop to another. In 1699, for instance, the archbishop, John Ernest, entertained the consort of Joseph, the Roman king, with fêtes; among others, with a grande battue, in which bulls, bears, wild boars, deer, etc., were driven into a narrow circle and torn to pieces by large hounds, and with a ball, on the conclusion of which he presented her with a silver table and a costly mirror for her morning toilette.

This example was followed by numerous other bishops, princely abbots, and prelates of every description. Augustin, abbot of Altaich, had an annual income of 100,000 florins and expended 300,000. The priests of the Teacher of humility paraded in gilt carriages drawn by six stallions, Heiducks standing behind, footmen running before, followed by a train of gay cavaliers, chased the wild-boar in their forests or lounged in luxurious boudoirs, their fat fingers gleaming with diamonds, on soft cushions, their mistresses around, a dainty banquet before them. Their luxury had long become proverbial. The episcopal cellars abounded with the good things of this world, and men, bound by a vow of denial and poverty, unhesitatingly named their store-places, the cellar of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, of all saints, etc. The depravity, especially of the women, in all the episcopal demesnes and cities was proverbial. The spiritual fathers took their daughters to their bosom and servility boasted of the honour.

The rich benefices, the offices in the cathedrals and other establishments, were, like all the higher civil and military posts, monopolized by the nobility. In order to secure the exclusion of the burghers, those alone who counted a certain number of ancestors or who paid a considerable sum of money,

could be admitted. An ill-successful applicant said, on one occasion, "I am not rich enough to take the vow of poverty!" The nobility, habituated from their birth to luxury and licence, continued the same practices in the establishments of the church.

Deep amid the mountains of Salzburg dwelt a pious community, which, since the time of the first Reformation, had secretly studied the German Bible, and, unaided by a priesthood, obeyed the precepts of a pure and holy religion. The gradual extension of this community at length betrayed its existence to the priests, and, in 1685, the first cruel persecution commenced in the Tefferekerthal, and, on the failure of the most revolting measures for the conversion of the wretched peasants to Popery, they were expelled their homes and sent to wander o'er the wide world, deprived even of a parent's joy, their children being torn from them in order to be educated by the Jesuits. In the ensuing year, a number of mountaineers with their preacher, Joseph Schaidberger, were also compelled to quit their native country.

The secret church, however, far from being annihilated by these measures, rapidly increased her number of proselytes. The purity and beauty of a religion free from the false dogmas of a grasping hierarchy offered irresistible attractions to the hardy and free-spirited mountaineers; the persecution, the licence permitted at the ecclesiastical court of their spiritual sovereign, the utter depravity pervading the whole of the upper classes, the church, and the army, filled them with the deepest disgust and caused them to cling with still greater tenacity to their secret persuasion. Divine service was performed during the silent night in the depths of the forest or in the hidden recesses of the mountains. They buried their Bibles in the forest, and, at first, refused to confide the place of their concealment to their wives and daughters. By practising the external ceremonies of the Catholic church, they remained, notwithstanding their numbers, long undiscovered. A trifling incident at length disclosed the whole. One of their number, shocked at the profanation of the Saviour's name by the use of the Catholic salutation, "Praised be Jesus Christ," by drunkards and gamesters, refused to reply to it, and, being imitated by the rest of his persuasion, a discovery took place.

The brutal archbishop, Leopold Antony von Firmian,* condemned the first who refused to return this salutation to be cruelly beaten, to be bound up awry with dislocated limbs, to be exposed during the depth of winter to hunger and cold, in order to compel them to recant. They remained firm. The miserable peasants imagined in their simplicity that the diet would exert itself in their favour! They still harboured a hope that the interests of the great German nation, of which they formed a part, might be represented in the diet! But their deputation found that in Ratisbon affairs dragged slowly on, and that whilst the lawyers scribbled the bishop acted. The Protestant deputies, who had taken up the cause of the Salzburg peasantry, allowed themselves to be led astray by the sophistry, evasions, and impudent assertions of the Baron von Zillerberg, Firmian's subtle agent at Ratisbon. The deputation was, on its return, thrown into prison, and the persecution was carried on with unrelenting cruelty. Physical torture proving ineffectual, the archbishop tried the effect of enormous fines. This measure proved equally futile. Enraged at his ill success, he at length sent a commission to find out the numbers of the heretics, and, on being informed that they amounted to twenty thousand, observed, "It does not matter, I will clear the country of the heretics although it may hereafter produce but thorns and thistles." The commissioners asked the people whether they were Lutheran or Zwinglian. The simple-minded peasants had never heard of either; they had only studied the Bible, and replied, "We are evangelical." They were now irremediably lost. However, putting their trust in God, they formed a great confederacy at Schwarzach, August the 5th, 1731, and swore to lay down their lives rather than deny their faith. Each man,

* Firmian had given the pope 100,000 dollars for the Pallium. His attendants and associates were chiefly Italians, and he would follow the chace for days together. The rest of his time was devoted to the Countess Arco at the château of Elesheim, and the government was intrusted to his chancellor, a poor Tyrolese, named Christian, a native of Räll, who Italianized his name and termed himself Christiani da Rallo. The pope bribed him with 50,000 dollars to gain the archbishop over to his interests.—*Panse, History of the Salzburg Emigration.* Part of the city of Salzburg had been buried, shortly before these events, [A. D. 1669,] by the fall of a mountain.

on taking this oath, stuck his finger into a salt-cellar, whence the confederacy received the appellation of the *Salzbund* of God, possibly a play upon the name of their country or upon the biblical saying, "Ye are the salt of the earth," or, what is still more probable, in allusion to the mysteries taught by Theophrastus Paracelsus, who had died at Salzburg and had recognised a divine primordial faculty in salt. The smith, Stullebner of Hüttau, was the most remarkable among their leaders. He preached so eloquently that the whole of his congregation generally hurried to embrace him at the conclusion of his discourse. A parody upon his sermons has been published by the Jesuits. The peasants were also encouraged by their poet, Loinpacher, one of whose songs has been preserved by Vierthaler.

The confederacy, in point of fact, possessed sufficient strength, especially in the mountains, to defend itself against the archbishop and his myrmidons, but the Catholics cunningly represented these peasants, who were neither Catholics, nor Lutherans, nor Zwinglians, and consequently belonged to none of the privileged churches, as political rebels, in order to deprive them of the protection of the Protestant princes; and it was principally on this account, if not from an enthusiastic notion of religious humility, that they formed the determination not to oppose violence to violence, to the great discomfiture of the archbishop and of Räll, who had already promulgated a report of their being in open rebellion.* The emperor, Charles VI., meanwhile, alarmed lest the contagion might spread among his own subjects in the mountains, lent a willing ear to the tale which furnished him with a ready pretext for taking the severest measures. The deputation, sent by the Salzburg peasantry to beg for his interference, was, by his orders, imprisoned at Linz; a decree, commanding the unconditional submission of the Salzburg rebels, was published, and six thousand men were sent into the mountains in order to enforce obedience. The soldiers, incited by their officers and by the priests, fell upon the peasantry like hounds upon the timid deer. They were dragged from their homes, cruelly

* The arsenal at Werfen was plundered during the night time, it was ere long, however, clearly proved to have been done by suborned Catholics. Although, as Casparis relates, all the peasantry were, like the Tyrolese, sharp-shooters, they unresistingly allowed themselves to be disarmed.

beaten, together with their wives and children, and plundered. For upwards of a month, during September and October, A. D. 1731, these crimes were countenanced by the archbishop, who tortured the heads of the communes in prison whilst the villagers fell a prey to the licence of the soldiery. The peasantry, nevertheless, still continued stedfast in their faith, and the king of Prussia threatening to treat his Catholic subjects as Firmian treated his Protestant ones, Räll became alarmed lest the wretched peasant might in the end find a protector, (the emperor also being compelled on account of the Pragmatic Sanction to keep on good terms with the Protestant princes,) and came to the determination of expelling every Protestant from the country, as, at the same time, the most convenient method of contenting the pope, of extirpating heresy in the mountains, and of pacifying the king of Prussia, to whom the colonization of the wide uncultivated tracts in his territories was an object of no small importance. Recourse was, however, again had to every devisable method for the conversion of the peasantry, in order to guard, if possible, against the entire depopulation of the country by emigration. The most scandalous measures were resorted to, but in vain. The sentence of banishment was passed, and, although the laws of the empire assured free egress to all those emigrating on account of religion together with the whole of their property, they were totally disregarded by the archbishop and the imperial troops, and the peasantry were hunted down in every direction. Those at work in the fields were seized and carried to the frontier without being allowed to return home, even for the purpose of fetching their coats. Men were in this manner separated from their wives, parents from their children. They were collected in troops and exposed to the gibes of the priests, the soldiers, and the Catholic inhabitants, who assembled around them as they were hurried along. Besides being thus compelled to abandon their homes, they were deprived by the commissioners of any sums of money they happened to possess, and were merely given a meagre and insufficient allowance for the expenses of the journey.

These cruelties were, however, unfelt when compared with the deprivation of their children. Upwards of a thousand children were torn from their parents. Some of the peasants, broken-hearted at this calamity, forgot their oath and begged

to be allowed to remain in order to avoid separation from their children; they were mercilessly beaten, driven out of the country, sometimes obliged to stand helplessly by whilst their unhappy children were tortured and ill-treated. Complaints were unavailing. "We obey the emperor's command," was the sole reply. Frederick William I., the noble-hearted king of Prussia, was the only German prince who exerted himself in their favour, and even threatened the archbishop with reprisals; but he was too distant; the inhuman separation of the children from their parents, a barbarity worthy of cannibals and of the savages of the wild, not of a civilized nation, so deeply revolted the Prussian monarch that he despatched commissioners to Salzburg in the hope of saving some of the children by this exertion of his authority, but in vain. Some of the boys, more courageous than the rest, afterwards succeeded in escaping from the hands of the Jesuits, and in begging their way to the new settlements on the Baltic.

The expelled peasantry were, ere long, followed by crowds of voluntary emigrants, more particularly from Berchtesgaden. They were mocked and ill-treated during their passage through the Catholic countries, but found a friendly reception in Würtemberg, Nuremberg, and Hesse. A part of them went to Holland and North America, but the greater number, amounting to sixteen thousand three hundred souls, went into Prussia and settled in the dwelling-places assigned to them by the king on the Niemen near to Tilsit, where their descendants still flourish.

The pope bestowed high encomium and the title of *eccelsus* on the archbishop. The establishment of a fresh Inquisition completely extinguished the liberty of conscience still feebly glimmering in the mountains. The more wealthy inhabitants were, notwithstanding the religious test, exposed to suspicion and to the consequent confiscation of their property. Missionaries travelled from house to house, listened to the guileless talk of the women and children, and then followed confiscation, scourging, imprisonment, or banishment. The *Reck* or rack-tower in the fortress of Werfen was destined exclusively for heretics, who were slung at an immense depth by long chains. According to the assertion of a traitor, named Vitus Loitscherger, no fewer than two hundred persons were, in 1743, delivered to the Inquisition.

A similar persecution, though not to such an extent, befell the secret Protestants in Austria at about the same period. The mountaineers in the Salzkammergut were [A. D. 1733] first treacherously examined under an assurance of liberty of conscience and then carried away by the soldiery and transported to Transylvania. The twelve hundred first sent away were, in 1736, followed by three hundred more. But when, in 1738, a great number of Protestants were discovered in the Traun district and in Kremsmünster, permission to emigrate was refused and some hundreds of them were shut up in a crooked position, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and miserably fed; many of them died. In 1740, Count von Seckau banished eight hundred men, but retained their wives and families, whom he compelled to embrace Catholicism.

In 1660, the rebellion of the peasantry belonging to the countship of Wied on the Rhine, and, in 1680, that of the Bohemian peasants against the heavy soccage-service occasioned its limitation by the emperor to a certain number of days. The people of Hauenstein in the Black Forest also refused to remain bound as serfs to the monastery of St. Blase, and, in 1728 and 1730, formed a secret confederation, under the name of saltpetres, for the recovery of their liberty, and, in fact, purchased their freedom from the abbot in 1738. In 1757, the Styrian peasantry rebelled against the heavy average-service.*. In 1665, the citizens of Lübeck, in 1708, those of Hamburg, in 1720, those of Brussels, opposed the usurpations of the city oligarchy, which secretly managed the government and practised usury. In 1716, the citizens of Spires again rebelled against their bishop, who threatened to take summary vengeance on one of their number, who is said to have spoken ill of him. His fellow-citizens took his part and prevented the bishop from executing his threat, until the

* On the 7th of August, 1704, the peasantry attacked the unpopular Count von Wurmbrand in his castle in Styria, dragged him forth and murdered him, each man dealing him a blow in order that all might, without exception, participate in the murder. In 1709, a noble clerk was beaten to death with flails by the peasantry. The nobles still possessed sufficient power to tyrannize. A Count von Droste-Vischering in the Bergland, being obstructed when hunting by a smithy, had it razed to the ground. The proprietor complained and received full compensation for his loss, but was not allowed to rebuild the smithy. See Montanus, Olden Times in Cleve and Berg.

peasantry, at his instigation, suddenly attacked the city, killed numbers of the citizens and disarmed the rest. This martial bishop was named Henry Hartard von Rollingen.

Since the great revolt of the peasantry in Switzerland, the people had, from time to time, vainly sought to shake off the yoke of the city aristocracy. After a long fermentation, Toggenburg, so long enslaved by the Catholic cantons and by the abbot of St. Gall, was, [A. D. 1707,] on the intercession of Zurich and Berne, restored to the enjoyment of religious liberty. The entry of the Zurichers into Toggenburg and the acts of violence committed by the Reformers of Toggenburg in a Catholic church, however, again roused the ancient religious feud. The Catholic population, who had risen for the abbot, tore their leader, Felber, whom they suspected of treachery, to pieces. The anger of the Catholic cantons was roused. At Schwyz, the brave Stadler, who spoke in favour of the rights of the people of Toggenburg, was beheaded. War broke out. At Bremgarten, the vanguard of the Catholics was beaten by the Bernese. The Catholics, doubly enraged at this repulse and animated by the nuntio and by the monks, rose en masse and overwhelmed the Bernese vanguard at Muri; three hundred of the Bernese were burnt to death in the church and on the tower of Merischwarden, where they had long defended themselves; the wounded were torn to pieces by dogs. A second decisive battle was fought [A. D. 1712] at Villmergen, where a contest had formerly taken place for a similar cause. The Reformed cantons were victorious. The Bernese generals, Tscharner and Diessbach, being dangerously wounded, Frisching, the mayor, a man seventy-four years of age, took the command and gained the day. The Catholics left between two and three thousand men dead on the field. Peace was made at Aarau, and the confederation remained unbroken notwithstanding the attempt made by Louis XIV., shortly before his death, to divide it into two independent parts according to their confession of faith, in order to rule with greater facility over both. A dispute that not long afterwards broke out between Lucerne, ever so zealously Catholic, and the pope contributed, no less than the defeat at Villmergen, to promote toleration towards the Reformers. On the occasion of the consecration of the church at Udligenswyl, in 1725, dancing was prohibited by the clergyman, Ander-

natt, but being allowed by the temporal authorities, Andernatt appealed to his spiritual superiors and protested against the permission. He was suspended and banished by the council of Lucerne, but was protected by Passionei, the nuntio, who quitted Lucerne and removed his residence to Altorf. The dispute increased in virulence; the pope threatened, but the five Catholic cantons assembling and declaring in favour of the council of Lucerne, he was compelled to yield, and Andernatt remained in banishment, A. D. 1731. Shortly after this, the same council of Lucerne, by way of compensation to the pope, condemned an unlucky peasant, Jacob Schmidli of Sulzig, for reading the Bible and expounding it to others, to the stake and his house to be levelled with the ground, A. D. 1747.

The Swiss governments, at that period, relieved themselves from their discontented subjects by sending them into foreign service. The higher posts in the army were hereditary in the aristocratic families and were extremely lucrative. From 1742 to 1745 there were twenty-two thousand Swiss serving in France, twenty thousand in Holland, thirteen thousand six hundred in Spain, four thousand in Sardinia, two thousand four hundred in the imperial army, besides several regiments at Naples and the old Swiss guard at Rome.

In Berne, the power became gradually more firmly centred in a few of the great aristocratic burgher families. Besides the actual reigning council there was another seeming one, in which the young patricians managed all the business, in order to learn the art of government; the rest of the citizens were excluded from all participation in public affairs. The material comfort of the citizens was well attended to by the aristocracy, and Berne consequently excelled almost all her sister cities in wealth and luxury; but the mind of the citizen was enslaved, and the insolence with which the patricians and their wives treated their fellow-citizens surpassed even the brutality of the coxcombs attached to the worst of the German courts. A conspiracy, set on foot by Henzi, the Bernese captain, was discovered, and he was executed together with two of his associates. The headsman several times missing his stroke and hacking him on the neck, he cried out, "Every thing, down to the headsman, is bad in this republic!" His charge against the aristocracy, in which he describes the manners of that time, is a masterly production. His death has been immortalized by Lessing.

PART XXI.

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA.

CCXXXIV. *Frederick William the First.*

THE Reformation had been converted by Luther into a cause of the princes, but they knew not how to improve the power placed by him in their hands. Saxony at first took the lead, but speedily retrograded, and Denmark, the successor to her forsaken power, ever actuated by an unholy motive, merely aimed, under pretence of protecting religious liberty; at extending her sway over the cities and provinces of Germany. A separation, consequently, ere long again took place between her and Sweden, but the death of Gustavus Adolphus proved a death-blow to every hope, and Sweden imitated the mean policy of Denmark. The Guelphic house, when scarcely settled and promoted to the electoral dignity, emigrated to England, and Luther's great bequest was transferred solely to the house of Brandenburg.

Frederick I., although fond of pomp and luxury and oftentimes misled, was fully conscious of the value of sowing for the future. The assumption of the royal dignity was simply an outward sign of future and still unobtained grandeur, a hint to posterity. The improvement of the Prussian army by Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who benefited Prussia with the science he had acquired under Eugene, whose military creations in Austria had died with him, was of far greater importance, and no less so was the toleration with which the king favoured liberty of thought in the new university of Halle, although, it may be, simply owing to his desire to raise its fame by that means above that so long enjoyed by the Saxon universities.

Leibnitz, although indubitably the greatest genius of the age, was, owing to his works being written either in Latin or in French, his high favour with the electoral house of Hanover, and his courtly habits, destitute of influence over the people. A few of the learned men of the times met with better

success in supplying the real wants of the people, which was principally done by the professors of the university of Halle, Thomasius and Franke, both of whom formerly belonged to that of Leipzig. Thomasius felt that Germany must be roused before she could be drawn from her state of deep degradation; he consequently rejected the Latin pedantry hitherto fostered by the universities and demanded that the learned men of Germany should again speak and write in pure German, the first step towards the enlightenment of the people, the banishment of the ancient superstitions, of the thousandfold prejudices, and of the slavish fear, by which his countrymen were artificially bound. He appealed to reason and at the same time inculcated true Christian benevolence, respect for the natural rights of man. To his eloquence was it entirely owing that a stop was almost every where put to the burning of witches. He spoke with equal warmth against torture and the other practices of the Roman law, by which German liberty was ignominiously converted into slavery. But in this he was unsuccessful; priestly prejudices were voluntarily sacrificed, but those in which temporal tyranny found an advantage were held sacred. He no sooner interfered with political matters than he fell under the bann. In Saxony, he was the first who ventured to reveal the base policy of the long deceased Hoe von Hoenegg. Justly roused to anger, he dared to maintain, in defiance of the Danish court-chaplain, Masius, who, like Pfaff in Tübingen, had recommended Lutheranism, on account of its servility, to all princes, that religion was of too holy a nature to be degraded to a mere political tool. This assertion was the signal for persecution. In Copenhagen, his controversial works were burnt by the hangman. At Leipzig, an attempt was made to seize his person and the whole of his property was confiscated. He found an asylum at Halle and a noble patron in Frederick I., who gave his pen unshackled liberty.

He was accompanied in his retreat from Leipzig by the pious Franke, the founder of the celebrated Orphan Asylum at Halle. He was Thomasius's best friend, and not only shared his views on education, but sought to realize them by the introduction, for the first time, of solid instruction into his orphan school, where, besides the Latin and theological pedantry of the schools, to which all instruction had been hitherto restricted, the German language, modern tongues, mathematics,

natural philosophy, and history were taught. But Franke was also a pietist or disciple of the school of piety founded by Spener. Sound human reason and genuine feeling had at that time leagued against the pedantry of the schools, which was as remarkable for want of sense as for its cold heartlessness, and even a cursory glance at the immense revolution effected since this period by enlightenment and, it may be, no less by sentiment, at once demonstrates the importance of the protection granted by Prussia to the first prophets of modern ideas.

Frederick I. was succeeded [A. D. 1730] by his son, Frederick William I., who, although an enemy to freedom of thought and the persecutor of Thomasius's successor, the philosopher, Wolf, whom he threatened with the gallows and expelled Halle, was an excellent guardian over the material interests and morals of his subjects. His first step immediately on his accession to the throne, was the reduction of his father's court, which was placed on an extremely simple and economical footing. Gold embroidered dresses and enormous perukes were no longer tolerated. The king appeared in a little blonde peruke, a tight-fitting dark-blue uniform turned up with red, with his sword at his side and a strong bamboo in his hand. The French, their licence, and their manners were so hateful to him, that, in order to render them equally unpopular with the people of Berlin, he ordered the provosts and gaolers to be dressed in the last French fashion, and "The Marquis dismissed with Blows," a piece eminently anti-Gallic, to be represented on the stage. Often, when, like the other German princes, tempted by the crafty French court, would he exclaim, "I will not be a Frenchman. I am thoroughly German and would be content were I but president of the imperial court of finance." On another occasion, he said, "I will place pistols and swords in my children's cradles and teach them to keep the foreigner out of Germany."

He believed and often declared himself to be "only the first servant of the state," and excused his excessive despotism on the score of duty.* This also accorded with his religious no-

* Among the executions that took place at his command, that of the intrigant, Clement, who, by stirring up the cabinets of Austria and Prussia, sought to fish in troubled waters, has attracted most attention. The most remarkable among them was, however, that of a Count von Schlu-

tions. He considered himself as a servant of God and wished to be the faithful shepherd of his flock. Endowed with great personal activity, he tolerated idleness in no one, and would sometimes bestow a hearty whipping with his own hand on the loungers at the street corners in Berlin. Manly and courageous, he had a horror of effeminacy and cowardice, and, on one occasion, gave a Jew a good thrashing for dreading the whip. He bore an almost implacable hatred to his own son, afterwards Frederick the Great, merely because he suspected him of cowardice.

He habituated his subjects to labour and industry, and promoted their welfare to an extraordinary degree, whilst at the same time he filled the exchequer. Partly for the purpose of depriving the people of Berlin of other modes of extravagance, partly for that of concentrating the whole power of the state by the foundation of a large metropolis, he compelled the people to build new houses in Berlin, in the Friedrichsstadt. The purport of his decree ran simply thus, "The fellow is rich, let him build." Simplicity of dress and manners, economy, thrift, public morality, health, honesty, and truth, were strictly enjoined. In his daily intercourse with the people, he praised industrious workmen and clean housewives, scolded the idle and dirty. House thieves were mercilessly hanged before the house-door. In his own person he offered an example of economy. Whilst other princes gave expensive fêtes to their foreign guests and ambassadors, Frederick William conducted them to his smoking-room and invited them to smoke and drink beer with him. This chamber was often the scene of important negotiations. Even Francis of Lorraine, who subsequently mounted the imperial throne, was a frequent visitor to this smoking-room for the purpose of gaining the vote of Prussia for the approaching election. Still, the coarse amusements of this monarch, who took delight in

beuth, who had treated his serfs with extreme cruelty. He set the king at defiance, and said, "It is not the fashion to hang a noble." He was, nevertheless, hanged on the ensuing morning. When the king for the first time introduced the taxation of the nobility and was opposed in this measure by the Estates of Eastern Prussia, he boldly prosecuted his intended reforms, and wrote, "I establish my sovereignty like a rock in bronze."——He set a great value on his giant-guard, and, on one occasion, thrashed the whole of his military council for condemning one of them to death for thieving.—*Stenzel, History of Prussia.*

plying his foreign guests with beer until drunkenness ensued, and in rendering them sick to death with the unaccustomed fumes of tobacco, his utter contempt of learning, as shown by his treatment of the learned Gundling* as a court-fool, and the brutal jokes passed upon him and others for the amusement of his boon companions, but too forcibly indicate a recurrence to the uncouth manners of the preceding century.

The army, excellently organized by Dessau, was the object of the king's greatest care, and it was from him (he always wore an uniform) that the whole state and population took the martial appearance still forming their strongest characteristic, and which, at that time, was alone able to enforce respect. Germany had, for a century, been plundered by the foreigner. Arms alone were wanting for her defence and the terrors of war would again march in her van. The formation of an army was consequently the grand desideratum, and Frederick William may therefore be pardoned for his Potsdam hobby,† his grenadier guard, composed of men of gigantic stature, whom he collected from every quarter of the globe, either received in gift or carried away by force. His recruiting officers were every where notorious for the underhand means by which they gained recruits, and were often exposed to the greatest peril when engaged in pressing men into the service. In Holland, one of them was, *sans ceremonie*, hanged. Hanover threatened Prussia with war on account of the subjects stolen from her territory. There was, moreover, a feud between the king of Prussia and George, king of England and elector of Hanover, the latter having wedded the Margravine of Anspach, the object of Frederick William's affection, and having bestowed upon him in her stead his sister, Sophia Dorothea, to whom, like a good and steady citizen, he nevertheless remained faithful.

* Gundling, although created a baron, a member of every council of state, and, moreover, president of the Academy of Sciences, was compelled to permit an ape, dressed like himself, to be seated at his side at table, mustachios to be painted on his face, etc. etc. His body was, after his decease, notwithstanding the protest of the clergy, buried, at the royal command, in a cask instead of a coffin. The king, on one occasion, compelled the Frankfurt professors to dispute with his court-fools over the thesis, "Savants are fools."

† He greatly extended and beautified Potsdam on account of the refusal of the Berlinese to maintain too numerous a garrison.

The sound sense that rendered this gallant monarch the irreconcilable enemy of France also guided him in his policy towards Poland. Instead of acceding to the partition of that kingdom, of contenting himself with her smallest division, and of exposing the frontiers of Germany to the colossal power of Russia, he endeavoured to raise her as a bulwark against the hostile North and strenuously counselled the Polish nobility to remain united, to keep themselves free from foreign influence, and to elect as their sovereign one of their own order, no foreigner, least of all one recommended by Russia. Well may Germany revere this noble prince! His policy was, as that of all her sovereigns ought ever to have been and to be, genuinely German. The straight-forward German honesty of the father was, nevertheless, destined to cede to the foreign tastes of the son.

The young crown prince, Frederick, was extremely beautiful during his infancy and early evinced the rarest intelligence. The timidity inspired by the severity of his father was mistaken by the latter for cowardice and hypocrisy, and the terms on which they lived became daily worse. The son devoted the whole of his leisure to the study of French works, which, owing to their lightness and wit, naturally presented far greater attractions to his young and imaginative mind than the heavy German literature of the day, with the best of which he was, moreover, unacquainted, studies of that nature being unpatronized at courts, and Frederick's sole guide being the young and libertine Lieutenant von Katt, who initiated him in modern French philosophy. Voltaire at that time reigned supreme. His ideas, his wit, his style, were the delight of his contemporaries. Diminutive, horribly ugly, a devil's mask under an enormous peruke, he was the ape of our great Luther, and the effect he produced upon France, a caricature of the Reformation in which German dignity and depth of thought were parodied by French flippancy and frivolity. Like Luther, he waged war with the priesthood, and, by ridiculing their depravity, ruined them in the opinion of the public. But, instead of confining his attack to the abuses in the church, he directed it against Christianity itself. Instead of seeking to heal the diseases of the church, he attempted to destroy all she still retained of holy, sound, or good. He sought to replace the strict and moral precepts of the

ancient religion by a modern and frivolous philosophy, by which men were taught to disbelieve the promises of the Saviour, were relieved from every fear of eternal punishment, and were permitted to follow their own inclinations in this world. Virtue and vice both disappeared and were replaced by wit and dulness. The witling was never in the wrong, might act as he pleased, and was ever the more amiable the more he laughed at others. Although guilty of the most abominable crimes, he was ever an excellent wit, courted by all and tolerated every where. The simplicity of virtue was the climax of ridicule, a scorn and an obloquy. Morality was treated with open contempt, and the most barefaced licence was practised under pretence of obeying the laws of nature. The youthful prince heard, on the one hand, the brutal invectives of his father, long-winded discourses from the pulpit, which, in the bombastic and insipid style of the day, prohibited the most innocent enjoyments; and, on the other hand, read the most ravishing descriptions of scenes of sensual delight and the delusive phrases of the convenient philosophy of the day, which dissolved every tie of duty by the pretended boon of liberty, and all this in the honied words of Voltaire. The contrast was too forcible. The secrecy with which the prince was compelled to prosecute his French studies naturally added to their zest. He was as if inspired and began to write, to philosophize, and to poetize completely in Voltaire's style; nor did he neglect to put his precepts into practice, and his youth and health ere long fell a prey to the consequences of vice.*

His father, on discovering these proceedings, punished him unmercifully with his cane. The royal youth attempted to escape, during a journey through Franconia, to the English court, which, on account of his engagement to one of the English princesses, seemed to offer the safest asylum; his design was, however, discovered; he was seized at Frankfurt and carried into the presence of his father, who personally ill-treated him, and, drawing his sword, was on the point of running him through, when he was prevented by General Mosel. The prince and his accomplice, Katt, were, however, condemned to death for desertion, and the execution of the

* Hence his unblessed marriage at a later period, his separation from his wife and the companions of his youth, and his solitary existence in the palace of Sanssouci.

sentence was merely prevented by the representations of the foreign courts. Frederick pined for several weeks in prison with a Bible and a book of hymns for recreation. A scaffold was erected opposite his prison window, and he was compelled to witness the execution of his ill-chosen friend and counsellor, Katt. Nor was the lesson without effect. On his release, he passed gradually through the different offices in chancery, and made himself acquainted with all the minutiæ of the business of the state. While thus occupied, he discovered so much talent that a complete reconciliation took place between him and his father, who gave him the Rheinsperg for his residence, where, without neglecting political science, he cultivated the muses and carried on a correspondence with Voltaire and other celebrated French philosophers and poets. Both father and son learnt to regard each other with mutual esteem, and the latter, on mounting the throne, far from recalling his former ill-treatment, ever spoke with reverence and gratitude of the parent, who so well prepared him for a period replete with peril.

CCXXXV. *Maria Theresa.*

CHARLES VI. expired A. D. 1740. The inutility of the Pragmatic Sanction became instantly apparent, each of the parties interested in its revocation forgetting their oath, and the Habsburg possessions were alone saved from dismemberment by Maria Theresa, Charles VI.'s daughter, a woman distinguished for beauty and for a character far surpassing in vigour that of her father and those of many of her ancestors.

Charles Albert, the licentious elector of Bavaria, quitted the arms of his mistresses, Moravika and the Countess Fugger, in order to set up a claim to the whole of the Habsburg possessions. He not unjustly maintained that if the property were to pass into the female line, his claim, as the direct descendant of Albert, duke of Bavaria, who had married a daughter of Ferdinand I., was superior to that of Maria Theresa herself. For the better success of his project, he entered into alliance with France,* the ancient foe, and with Prussia, the modern rival of the house of Habsburg.

* He wrote in the basest terms to the French king, as, for instance, "Je regarderai S. M. toujours comme mon *seul* soutien et mon unique

Frederick William of Prussia also expired A. D. 1740, leaving to his son Frederick II. thirty million dollars in the exchequer and a well-disciplined army, amounting to seventy-two thousand men. The moment seemed propitious, and Frederick, without waiting for Bavaria or France, invaded Silesia during the autumn under pretext of making good his ancient but hitherto unasserted claim upon the duchies of Leignitz, Wohlau, Brieg, and Jægerndorf. The Austrians under Neipperg, taken by surprise, were defeated at Molwitz near Brieg by the Count von Schwerin, Frederick merely acting the part of a spectator in this first engagement. The result of this success was a treaty, at Nymphenburg, with France* and Bavaria, which was also joined by Saxony, and the elector of Bavaria, with a numerous French army under Belleisle and a Saxon force under Rutowski, the natural son of Augustus, entered Bohemia and was proclaimed king at Prague, the Bohemians, as Frederick said, gladly seizing the opportunity to free themselves from the unpopular rule of the Habsburg. Even the Catholic clergy in Silesia, whom Frederick greatly flattered, were opposed to the Habsburg. The Catholic church was not only permitted to retain the whole of her immense revenue, but was prohibited by Frederick to send any portion of it to Rome. The Catholic faith was, at the same time, protected, and the Catholics had every reason to be contented with the Prussian monarch.

Maria Theresa was exposed to the utmost peril. Hungary, where but shortly before the sovereignty of the Habsburg had been confirmed amid torrents of blood, alone remained true to her cause. She convoked the proud magnates to the diet and appeared among them attired in the Hungarian costume, the sacred crown upon her head, the sabre girded to her side, radiant with beauty and spirit, and called upon them, on their duty as cavaliers, to stand up in her cause. The whole assemblage, fired with enthusiasm by her charms, exclaimed with

appui. Si vous me faites monter, s'il étoit possible, sur ce trône impérial, je n'ai point de termes qui puissent exprimer toute l'étendue de ma réconnoissance." He promised, "Je tâcherai toujours d'unir les intérêts de l'empire à ceux de la France. Je verrai le jour de mon élévation devenir l'époque la plus glorieuse de *votre ministère.*"—*Schlosser's History of the Eighteenth Century.*

* The French king had the impudence at the time that he recognised the elector as emperor, to nominate him his lieutenant-general.

one voice, "Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa!" (Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa!) and took the field at the head of their serfs, thirty thousand cavalry, and wild hordes of Pandurs and Croats, which, leaving the French at Prague, moved upon Bavaria. The circumstance of the elector being at that conjuncture at Frankfurt* for the purpose of solemnizing his coronation as Charles VII., emperor of Germany, inflamed the Hungarians with still greater fury. Bavaria was terribly devastated, particularly by Menzel, general of the hussars, a Saxon by birth, who took Munich [A. D. 1742] on the same day on which the elector was crowned at Frankfurt, revived all the horrors of the thirty years' war, and, on the Bavarians threatening to rise en masse, gave orders that "all those taken with arms in their hands should be compelled to cut off each other's noses and ears, and should then be hanged."† Bärnklau (or, more properly, Percklö, Baron von Schönreuth) and Trenk with the Pandurs committed equal excesses, and the peasants, driven to despair, rose against them. The inhabitants of Cham and Mainburg were cut down to a man, those of Landsberg kept their ground, and those of Tölz succeeded in depriving the Pandurs of great part of their booty. Lukner, who afterwards became a field-marshal in the French service, chiefly distinguished himself among the Bavarians. Seckendorf, now an old man and an Austrian exile, was raised to the command of the Bavarian troops, but effected little. Bärnklau took Ingolstadt, hitherto deemed impregnable. Khevenhüller shut up sixteen thousand French, who had, under Segur, ventured from Bohemia into Austria, in Linz, and took them prisoner,‡ before Frederick, who had invaded Moravia and taken Olmütz, could advance to their assistance.

On the second defeat of the Austrians under Charles of Lotraine, (in whose name Browne commanded,) at Chotusiz, by Frederick, Maria Theresa offered [A. D. 1742] to cede

* Charles was crowned by his brother of Cologne. Belleisle, the French ambassador, played the chief part, and, formally taking upon himself the character of protector, took precedence of all the German princes.

† When the French cried out "Pardon, Monsieur!" the hussars responded with "Mors! Mors!" cut off their heads at a blow, stuck them on their sabre points, and carried them about in triumph.

‡ Segur's wife was received on her appearance in the theatre at Paris with the derisive cry of "Linz! Linz!" and died of shame and terror.

Silesia to him on condition of his withdrawal from the treaty of Nymphenburg. The offer was instantly accepted and peace was concluded at Breslau. Saxony was also gained over by the gift, on the part of Maria Theresa, of rich lands in Bohemia to Count Brühl.

The next step was the expulsion of the French from Prague. Belleisle was closely shut up. A fresh French army under Harcourt approached to his relief and drove the Austrians out of Bavaria, but fell a prey to cold and famine. A third army under Maillebois penetrated as far as Bohemia, but retraced its steps, being forbidden by the miserable petticoat-government under Louis XV. to hazard an engagement. Belleisle, driven desperate by famine, at length made a vigorous sally and fought his way through the Austrians, but almost the whole of his men fell victims during the retreat to the severity of the winter. The Bavarians under Seckendorf and twenty thousand French under Broglio, who attempted to come to his relief, were defeated by Khevenhüller at Braunau.

Fortune declared still more decidedly during the campaign of 1743 in Maria Theresa's favour, George II., king of England, (who, not long before, through fear of losing Hanover, had yielded to the counsels of France and Prussia and had voted in favour of Charles VII.,) actuated by a double jealousy, on account of England against France and on account of Hanover against Prussia, bringing a *pragmatic* army levied in Northern Germany* to her aid. Notwithstanding his bad generalship, he was victorious at Dettingen, not far from Aschaffenburg, over the French, who were still worse commanded by Noailles. In the ensuing year, Charles of Lorraine crossed the Rhine at the head of the whole Austrian army and laid Alsace and Lorraine waste.†

These successes were beheld with impatience by Frederick, who plainly foresaw the inevitable loss of Silesia, should for-

* Among which were twenty thousand Swiss mercenaries and six hundred Hessians whom he had purchased from the Landgrave of Hesse, who had also sold six thousand of his subjects to Charles VII. It was merely owing to a favourable chance that the unfortunate Hessians were not compelled to fight each other.

† The Sultan Mahmud V. attempting to make peace between the contending parties, the French ambassador at the Hague remarked, "The Turks begin to think like Christians." "And the Christians," replied the grand pensionary, Fagel, "act, none the less, like Turks."

tune continue to favour Maria Theresa. In Austria, public opinion was decidedly opposed to the cession of that province. In order to obviate the danger with which he was threatened, he once more unexpectedly took up arms and gained a brilliant victory at Hohenfriedberg in Silesia, and another at Sorr in Bohemia, where Prince Lobkowitz, in attempting to rally his troops, cut down three Austrian captains, but was himself thrown down and cast into a ditch. Schwerin took Prague. The now venerable Dessau was again victorious at Kesselsdorf in Saxony, and Maria Theresa was compelled by the treaty of Dresden [A. D. 1745] once more to cede Silesia to the victorious Prussian.——The war with France was still carried on. The Marchioness of Pompadour at that time governed Louis XV. and bestowed the highest offices in the army on her paramours. She was at length seized with a whim to guide the operations of the campaign in person and took the field with an immense army, (among which were twenty-two thousand Swiss,) commanded by Noailles. The campaign was, however, a mere fête for the king and his mistresses, and nothing of importance was in consequence effected. The vanguard under Segur was defeated at Pfaffenhofen, and some skirmishing parties were cut to pieces by the peasantry in the forest of Bregenz. The main body was retained by the siege of Freiburg in the Breisgau, where it lost twelve thousand men, A. D. 1744. Charles VII. expired in the ensuing year, and his youthful son and sncccssor, Maximilian Joseph, being inclined to peace, Bavaria being, moreover, a scene of fearful desolation and Seckendorf neglected by the French, the treaty of Füssen, which restored every thing to its ancient footing, was concluded [A. D. 1745] between Bavaria and Austria.——The French instantly withdrew from the Upper Rhine to prosecute the war with redoubled fury in the Netherlands, where they were served by Maurice of Saxony, who had a theatre in his camp and made life one long fête diversified by victories. He was opposed by the English under the Duke of Cumberland and by the Dutch under Waldeck. He defeated them at Fontenoy and took Ghent, Brügge, and Brussels, where Louis XV. made a triumphal entry, A. D. 1745. In the following year, Charles of Lorraine entered the Netherlands with an imperial auxiliary force, but was again beaten by Rancoux and Cumberland at Laffeld, A. D. 1746.

Maurice* also took Maestricht. And all these deeds were done for France! This attack had, like its predecessors, the effect of placing a Prince of Orange at the head of the army and of the state. On William's accession to the British throne, and on his dying without issue, the house of Orange was represented by a side-branch, John William Friso, stadtholder of Frizeland. He was drowned, and his posthumous son, William IV., succeeded [A. D. 1711] to the hereditary stadtholdership.——France also at that time created a diversion for England. Charles Edward Stuart,† the grandson of the exiled king, James II., aided by French gold, raised a rebellion in Scotland in the hope of expelling the house of Hanover from the throne of Britain, but was defeated at Culloden, A. D. 1746.

In Italy, the Austrians under Lobkowitz also opposed the French, Spanish, and Neapolitans, whilst an English fleet struck Naples with terror. It was not, however, until 1746, that the war was decided by the arrival of strong reinforcements from Austria. Browne was victorious at Guastalla, Lichtenstein at Piacenza, and Provence was on the point of being invaded, when the population of Genoa, hitherto staunch imperialists, rebelled against General Botta, who had condemned some of the citizens to the lash and had demanded a contribution of twenty-five millions as well as all their arms, and, headed by a Doria, drove the imperialists, after a battle that lasted several days, out of the city, December, 1746. The war was at length terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Each party remained *in statu quo*, Maria Theresa alone ceding Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla to a Spanish prince, with the proviso of their reversion to Austria in case of his dying without issue. Her husband, Francis I., was recognised emperor by all the European powers. On his coronation [A. D. 1746] at Frankfurt, Maria Theresa withdrew in order that all the honour might be conferred upon him alone,

* The French had the impudence to speak of him as "ce brave Comte de Saxe, qui lave si bien par sa valeur la honte d'être né Allemand." Maurice wrote a work on the science of war. He died A. D. 1750, and was buried at Strassburg.

† He afterwards married the Countess Stolberg, so celebrated for her beauty, who, under the title of Duchess of Albany, lived unhappily with this simple prince. She was termed "la reine des cœurs," on account of her amiability. She was the friend of the Italian poet, Alfieri.

and no sooner was the ceremony concluded, than, stepping on the balcony, she motioned to the people and was the first to cry "Vivat!" Francis, nevertheless, was merely invested with the imperial dignity, and Maria Theresa reigned alone, aided by her subtle minister Kaunitz. Francis, although totally devoid of ambition, possessed great mercantile inclinations and amused himself with secretly transacting money business. He had the merit of reforming the imperial household and of putting a stop to the lavish expenditure that had been allowed under Charles VI.

Frederick II., after gaining laurels in the field, equally distinguished himself as a statesman and a *bel esprit.* Like his father, absolute in his sovereignty, he brought the machine of state, alone subservient to his will, to a higher degree of perfection. His administration was unparalleled. The increase of the wealth of the country by the cultivation of waste land and by industry, a limited expenditure, and the strict observance of economy and order, formed the basis of his plan. He equally aimed at order, simplicity, and strict justice in legal matters, and, in 1746, caused the *corpus juris Fridericianum,* the basis of the provincial law of Prussia, to be drawn up by Cocceji. The use of torture was abolished. The strictness with which the public officers were disciplined was as flattering to the people as the fame they had lately gained during the war and the acquisition of the fine and fertile province of Silesia. Frederick, although at that period at the height of his popularity, withdrew [A. D. 1747] from public to private life. In the lonely solitudes of Sans Souci, a palace built by him in the vicinity of Berlin, he lived separate from his consort, Elisabeth Christina of Wolfenbüttel, and devoted himself to the state and to the study of French literature. With the exception of his generals and ministers, the blind instruments of his will, he was surrounded by Frenchmen. He founded an academy of sciences, presided over by Maupertius and almost totally composed of Frenchmen.* Frederick both

* His favourite, Voltaire, visited him in 1745, and again in 1750, with the intention of remaining with him; the two philosophers did not, however, long agree. Frederick sometimes set a limit to the pretensions of the vain, mean, and grasping Frenchman, who treated the Germans with unheard-of insolence. On one occasion, when at table with the king, he called one of the royal pages a Pomeranian beast. The king, shortly afterwards, making a journey through Pomerania with Voltaire in his

wrote and composed in French. He also played well on the flute.

While Prussia was thus rising in the scale of European powers, Saxony was reduced by her minister, Brühl, to the verge of ruin. He had already burthened her with a debt of a hundred million dollars, for two years he had withheld the public salaries, and these measures proving insufficient, he had sold Saxon troops to the Dutch and English for the defence of their colonies, A. D. 1751. Josepha, princess of Saxony, had, four years earlier, been married to the French Dauphin, to whom she bore three kings, Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X., whose sad fate might well result from the union of two courts governed by a Pompadour and a Brühl. ——The deep dungeons of the Königstein, the Sonnenstein, and the Pleissenburg were crowded with malcontents. These horrors occasioned the retreat of Count Zinzendorf from the world, and, in 1722, his offer of an asylum in the Herrnhut to persons equally piously disposed. He named himself "the assembler of souls." He was banished as a rebel by Brühl, but was [A. D. 1747] permitted to return and to continue his pious labours.

The rising prosperity of Prussia, the superior talents and statemanship of her king and his unsparing ridicule had gained for him the enmity of all his brother sovereigns. The mention of Silesia filled Maria Theresa alternately with rage and sorrow, and her subtle minister ingratiated himself ever the more deeply in her favour by his unwearying endeavours to regain possession of that rich and fertile country. Elisabeth, empress of Russia, enraged at Frederick's biting satire on her unbridled licence, was, notwithstanding the little interest felt by Russia in the aggrandizement of Austria, ready to lend her aid. England was, on account of her ancient alliance with

suite, the page in revenge spread a report of his being the king's ape, and the peasants, deceived by his extraordinary ugliness, assembled in crowds round his carriage, from which they would not allow him to descend, teasing him as if he were in reality an ape. Voltaire at length fled from the Prussian court, carrying away with him some interesting papers belonging to the king. He was deprived of them at Frankfurt on the Maine, and was allowed to depart. A correspondence, nevertheless, continued to be carried on between him and the king, who again esteemed him as a man of talent, when no longer reminded of his puerilities by his presence.

Austria, pointed to as a third ally. France, on the eve of declaring war with England on account of her colonies, sought, as formerly, to form a confederacy with Prussia. Mons. de Rouillé said to Kniphausen, the Prussian ambassador at Paris, "Write to your king that he must aid us against Hanover; there is plenty to get; the king has only to make the attack; he will have a good haul." Frederick had, however, no intention to quarrel with England, and before the French minister had recovered from his astonishment at the refusal, Kaunitz* unexpectedly proposed an alliance between Austria and France, and Maria Theresa was actually induced, in her anxiety to gain over Louis XV., to send a confidential letter to Madame de Pompadour, whom she addressed as her cousin. France, independent of the condescension of the Austrian empress, naturally lent a willing ear to the proposal, nor will she at any time refuse her aid to one German potentate against another so long as her interest is promoted by civil dissensions in Germany. The possession of a German province would again have rewarded France had not the league, notwithstand-

* Prince Kaunitz's policy to raise France at the expense of the empire ran exactly counter to that of Frederick William of Prussia and offers a rare example of depravity. Kaunitz founded the Vienna chancery of state, the wheel by which the *mechanism* of government was turned. He was the oracle of the diplomatic world and was long termed "the European coachman." He, however, forgot that the policy of the German emperor ought also to be German. He was one of those wiseacres of his time who overlooked the real wants, powers, and limits of the nations under his rule, and who formed artificial states in defiance of nature. Countries appertaining to one another, nations similar in descent, were torn asunder; others, separated by nature or differing in origin, were pronounced one. Enmity was sown between the most natural political allies, and those whom nature had intended for opponents were joined together in alliance. The greater the inconsistency the more indubitable the talent of the diplomatist. Kaunitz was a thorough personification of this unnatural policy. He was even in his person a caricature. His admirer, Hormayr, relates of him, "He never enjoyed or could endure the open air. If, during the summer heats, when not a leaf stirred, he, by chance, sat in his arm-chair in the chancery garden adjoining the Bastei or passed thence, a few steps further, to the palace, he carefully guarded his mouth with his handkerchief. He always dressed according to the weather and had his rooms well furnished with thermometers and barometers. In the autographic instructions given to each of his lecturers, he begged of them never to mention in his hearing these two words, 'death and small-pox.' His highest expression of praise was ever, 'My God! I could not have done it better myself.'"

ing its strength, been overthrown. Austria deprived herself of her glorious title of defender of Germany against France, and for the future lost the right of reproaching other states for their unpatriotic policy.* On the second of May, A. D. 1756, the treaty of Versailles was concluded between Austria and France. According to the terms of this treaty, France was to bring one hundred and five thousand men into the field and to take ten thousand Bavarians and Würtembergers into her pay against Prussia, besides paying an annual subsidy of twelve million francs to Austria, in return for which she was to hold part of the Netherlands with the harbour of Ostend. The rest of the Netherlands (Luxemburg excepted) was bestowed upon a French prince, Philip of Parma. The fortress of Luxemburg was to be razed to the ground. Austria, on the other hand, was to hold Silesia and Parma; Saxony, Magdeburg, the circle of the Saal, and Halberstadt; Sweden, Pomerania; Poland, at that time in alliance with Saxony, the kingdom of Prussia; Russia, Courland and Semgallen. Cleve was also to be severed from Prussia.——This treaty was, however, merely provisional. The alliance between the two empresses and France, (the Marquise de Pompadour,) termed by Frederick "l' alliance des trois cotillons," was still by no means concluded. Negotiations with Russia were still pending. Saxony, although destined to play a part of such im-

* Keith, the English ambassador, did not fail to represent the iniquitous conduct of France against the German empire to the empress, Maria Theresa. In reference to the possibility that France might repay herself for her alliance with a province of Western Germany, Maria Theresa declared her policy to be that of the house of Habsburg, not that of Germany: "I can take little interest in distant provinces; I must confine myself to the defence of the hereditary states, and have but two enemies to dread, Turkey and Prussia." Frederick was, in point of fact, as little German in his policy. He would unhesitatingly have rewarded France for her aid with a German province, nor was it owing to him that, at all events, part of the Netherlands did not fall under her rule. Once only, during the seven years' war, was he struck with the folly of two German powers fighting for the advantage of France. "Imagine, my Lord," wrote Mitchel, "the wretched state of Europe. The two principal powers of Germany have almost succeeded in ruining each other, whilst France looks on with secret delight, apparently aiding one and perhaps stirring up the other in order to accelerate the downfal of both. Would it were possible to reconcile Prussia and Austria, and to turn both against France! Senseless and impossible as this project may appear, it was, nevertheless, assented to by Frederick II. in a conference before the battle of Prague."

portance, had not yet been consulted.* Her adherence, as well as that of Sweden, was deemed certain, Brühl, the Saxon minister, bearing a personal hatred to Frederick on account of the scorn with which he had been treated by that monarch.

The news of the treaty of Versailles found Frederick prepared for the event. Clearly foreseeing the certain and speedy coalition of his enemies, he determined to be the first in the field and to surprise them ere they had time to coalesce. Deeply sensible of the hazard of his position, he carried poison on his person during the whole of the protracted war, being firmly resolved not to survive the loss of his possessions. To appeal to God and to the justice of his cause was denied him, for his sufferings were merely a retaliation of those he had inflicted upon others. The partition of Prussia in 1756 was equally just with that of Austria in 1741. National enthusiasm was a thing unknown, for the people were slaves accustomed to be passed from one hand to another. Frederick's sole resource lay in his genius, and in this he alone confided for success as he courageously unfurled his flag before Austria had armed or war had been declared by France. A man of a less decisive character would have hesitated, would still have hoped, negotiated, or have made concessions to such overwhelming opponents instead of boldly taking the initiative and proving to the astonished world that peril, however great, may be surmounted by courage and decision. Frederick's enemies intended to bring against him a force of five hundred thousand men, to surround and crush him. This force had, however, still to be levied; the object of Frederick's whole policy was consequently the prevention of the coalition of the forces of his opponents in order to attack them singly. The pretended

* The proof is contained in the documents concerning the occasion of the seven years' war; Leipzig, Teubner, 1841. When Austria, in 1746, laid the preliminaries to an alliance with Russia against Prussia, into which she attempted to draw Saxony, Saxony refused her participation and was consequently not admitted into the negotiations secretly carried on, at a later period, by Austria with France and Russia. The revelations, asserted by Frederick the Great to have been made to him by Mentzel, the clerk of the Saxon chancery, from papers out of the secret cabinet, were, consequently, by no means the principal cause of the war. Frederick learnt the most important secrets from Vienna and Petersburg. Maria Theresa also committed the imprudence of solemnizing the festival of St. Hedwig, the protectress of Silesia, with remarkable pomp at Vienna.

discovery of papers in Berlin, disclosing the whole plan of the coalition, provided him with a pretext for the declaration of war, and the diplomatic world was by this means led to believe in the reality of the manœuvres he had merely foreseen. His denunciation of a coalition, still formally unconcluded, was instantly productive of the catastrophe.

England, deluded by a pretended alliance between France and Prussia, joined Austria and Russia, an alliance that was viewed with pleasure by George II., between whom and Frederick a personal dislike existed. The deception was, however, no sooner discovered than the parliament and the prime minister, Pitt, ranged themselves on the side of Prussia, and the king was compelled to yield. Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Gotha, and Lippe also joined Prussia. The rest of the empire, allured by bribery, sided with Austria and France. Bavaria, apparently the least likely of all the European powers to join with Austria for the destruction of Prussia, had, since 1750, received monthly from France (from the secret fund) the sum of 50,000 livres, amounting in all to 8,700,000 livres. The Pfalz also received 11,300,000; Pfalz-Zweibrücken, 4,400,000; Würtemberg, 10,000,000; Cologne, 7,300,000; Mayence only 500,000; Ansbach, Bayreuth, Darmstadt about 100,000; Liege, Mecklenburg, Nassau, something more, altogether 3,000,000; even the petty principality of Waldeck received 50,000. The empire was in this manner bought. France had so much superfluous wealth that she also paid a subsidy of 82,700,000 livres to Austria, and another of 8,800,000 to Saxony, towards the expenses of the war with Prussia.

CCXXXVI. *The Seven Years' War.*

In the autumn of 1756, Frederick, unexpectedly and without previously declaring war, invaded Saxony, of which he speedily took possession, and shut up the little Saxon army, thus taken unawares, on the Elbe at Pirna. A corps of Austrians, who were also equally unprepared to take the field, hastened, under the command of Browne, to their relief, but were, on the 1st of October, defeated at Lowositz, and the fourteen thousand Saxons under Rutowsky at Pirna were in consequence compelled to lay down their arms, the want to which they were reduced by the failure of their supplies having

already driven them to the necessity of eating hair-powder mixed with gunpowder. Augustus III. and Brühl fled with such precipitation that the secret archives were found by Frederick at Dresden. The electress vainly strove to defend them by placing herself before the chest; she was forcibly removed by the Prussian grenadiers, and Frederick justified the suddenness of his attack upon Saxony by the publication of the plans of his enemies. He remained during the whole of the winter in Saxony, furnishing his troops from the resources of the country. It was here that his chamberlain, Glasow, attempted to take him off by poison, but, meeting by chance one of the piercing glances of the king, tremblingly let fall the cup and confessed his criminal design, the inducement for which has ever remained a mystery, to the astonished king.

The allies, surprised and enraged at the suddenness of the attack, took the field, in the spring of 1757, at the head of an enormous force. Half a million men were levied, Austria and France furnishing each about one hundred and fifty thousand, Russia one hundred thousand, Sweden twenty thousand, the German empire sixty thousand. These masses were, however, not immediately assembled on the same spot, were, moreover, badly commanded and far inferior in discipline to the seventy thousand Prussians brought against them by Frederick. The war was also highly unpopular and created great discontent among the Protestant party in the empire. On the departure of Charles of Würtemberg for the imperial army, his soldiery mutinied, and, notwithstanding their reduction to obedience, the general feeling among the imperial troops was so much opposed to the war, that most of the troops deserted and a number of the Protestant soldiery went over to Frederick. The Prussian king was put out of the bann of the empire by the diet, and the Prussian ambassador at Ratisbon kicked the bearer of the decree out of the door.

Frederick was again the first to make the attack, and, in the spring of 1757, invaded Bohemia. The Austrian army under Charles of Lorraine lay before Prague. The king, resolved at all hazards to gain the day, led his troops across the marshy ground under a terrible and destructive fire from the enemy. His gallant general, Schwerin, remonstrated with him. "Are you afraid?" was the reply. Schwerin, who

had already served under Charles XII. in Turkey and had grown grey in the field, stung by this taunt, quitted his saddle, snatched the colours and shouted, "All who are not cowards, follow me!" He was at that moment struck by several cartridge-balls and fell to the ground enveloped in the colours. The Prussians rushed past him to the attack. The Austrians were totally routed; Browne fell, but the city was defended with such obstinacy, that Daun, one of Maria Theresa's favourites, was, meanwhile, able to levy a fresh body of troops. Frederick, consequently, raised the siege of Prague and came upon Daun at Collin, where he had taken up a strong position. Here again were the Prussians led into the thickest of the enemy's fire, Frederick shouting to them, on their being a third time repulsed with fearful loss, "Would ye live for ever?" Every effort failed, and Benkendorf's charge at the head of four Saxon regiments, glowing with revenge and brandy, decided the fate of the day. The Prussians were completely routed. Frederick lost his splendid guard and the whole of his luggage. Seated on the verge of a fountain and tracing figures in the sand, he reflected upon the means of re-alluring fickle fortune to his standard.

A fresh misfortune befell him not many weeks later. England had declared in his favour, but the incompetent English commander, nicknamed, on account of his immense size, the Duke of Cumberland, allowed himself to be beaten by the French at Hastenbek and signed the shameful treaty of Closter Seeven, by which he agreed to disband his troops.* This treaty was not confirmed by the British monarch. The Prussian general, Lewald, who had merely twenty thousand men under his command, was, at the same time, defeated at Gross-Zägerndorf by an overwhelming Russian force under Apraxin. Four thousand men were all that Frederick was able to bring against the Swedes. They were, nevertheless, able to keep the field, owing to the disinclination to the war evinced by their opponents.

Autumn fell, and Frederick's fortune seemed fading with the leaves of summer. He had, however, merely sought to gain time in order to recruit his diminished army, and Daun

* The Hanoverian nobility, who hoped thereby to protect their property, were implicated in this affair. They were shortly afterwards well and deservedly punished, being laid under contribution by the French.

having, with his usual tardiness, neglected to pursue him, he suddenly took the field against the imperialists under the duke of Saxon-Hildburghausen and the French under Soubise. The two armies met on the 5th of November, 1757, on the broad plain around Leipzig, near the village of Rossbach, not far from the scene of the famous encounters of earlier times. The enemy, three times superior in number to the Prussians, lay in a half-circle with a view of surrounding the little Prussian camp, and, certain of victory, had encumbered themselves with a numerous train of women, wig-makers, barbers, and modistes from Paris. The French camp was one scene of confusion and gaiety. On a sudden, Frederick sent General Seidlitz with his cavalry amongst them, and an instant dispersion took place, the troops flying in every direction without attempting to defend themselves; some Swiss, who refused to yield, alone excepted. The Germans on both sides showed their delight at the discomfiture of the French. An Austrian coming to the rescue of a Frenchman, who had just been captured by a Prussian, "Brother German," exclaimed the latter, "let me have this French rascal!" "Take him and keep him!" replied the Austrian riding off. The scene more resembled a chace than a battle. The imperial army (*Reichsarmee*) was thence nicknamed the runaway (*Reissaus*) army. Ten thousand French were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the Prussians merely amounted to one hundred and sixty men. The booty chiefly consisted in objects of gallantry belonging rather to a boudoir than to a camp. The French army perfectly resembled its mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour.*

The Austrians had, meanwhile, gained great advantages to the rear of the Prussian army, had beaten the king's favourite, General Winterfeld, at Moys in Silesia, had taken the important fortress of Schweidnitz and the metropolis, Breslau, whose commandant, the Duke of Bevern, (a collateral branch of the house

* Seidlitz, who covered himself with glory on this occasion, was the best horseman of the day. He is said to have once ridden under the sails of a windmill when in motion. One day, when standing on the bridge over the Oder at Frankfurt, being asked by Frederick what he would do if blocked up on both sides by the enemy, he leaped, without replying, into the deep current and swam to shore. The Black Hussars with the death's head on their caps chiefly distinguished themselves during this war.

of Brunswick,) had fallen into their hands whilst on a reconnoitring expedition. Frederick, immediately after the battle of Rossbach, hastened into Silesia, and, on his march thither, fell in with a body of two thousand young Silesians, who had been captured in Schweidnitz, but, on the news of the victory gained at Rossbach, had found means to regain their liberty and had set off to his rencontre. The king, inspirited by this reinforcement, hurried onwards, and, at Leuthen, near Breslau, gained one of the most brilliant victories during this war over the Austrians. Making a false attack upon the right wing, he suddenly turned upon the left. "Here are the Würtembergers," said he, "they will be the first to make way for us!" He trusted to the inclination of these troops, who were zealous Protestants, in his favour. They instantly gave way and Daun's line of battle was destroyed. During the night, he threw two battalions of grenadiers into Lissa, and, accompanied by some of his staff, entered the castle, where, meeting with a number of Austrian generals and officers, he civilly saluted them and asked, "Can one get a lodging here too?" The Austrians might have seized the whole party, but were so thunderstruck that they yielded their swords, the king treating them with extreme civility. Charles of Lorraine, weary of his unvarying ill-luck, resigned the command and was nominated stadtholder of the Netherlands, where he gained great popularity. At Leuthen twenty-one thousand Austrians fell into Frederick's hands; in Breslau, which shortly afterwards capitulated, he took seventeen thousand more, so that his prisoners exceeded his army in number.

Fresh storms rose on the horizon and threatened to overwhelm the gallant king, who, unshaken by the approaching peril, firmly stood his ground. The Austrians gained an excellent general in the Livonian, Gideon Laudon, whom Frederick had refused to take into his service on account of his extreme ugliness, and who now exerted his utmost endeavours to avenge the insult. The great Russian army, which had until now remained an idle spectator of the war, also set itself in motion. Frederick advanced, in the spring of 1758, against Laudon, invaded Moravia, and besieged Olmütz, but without success; Laudon ceaselessly harassed his troops and seized a convoy of three hundred waggons. The king was finally compelled to retreat, the Russians, under Fermor

crossing the Oder, murdering and burning on their route, converting Custrin, which refused to yield, into a heap of rubbish, and threatening Berlin. They were met by the enraged king at Zorndorf. Although but half as numerically strong as the Russians, he succeeded in beating them, but with the loss of eleven thousand of his men, the Russians standing like walls. The battle was carried on with the greatest fury on both sides; no quarter was given; and men were seen, when mortally wounded, to seize each other with their teeth as they rolled fighting on the ground. Some of the captured Cossacks were presented by Frederick to some of his friends with the remark, "See, with what vagabonds I am reduced to fight!" He had scarcely recovered from this bloody victory, than he was again compelled to take the field against the Austrians, who, under Daun and Laudon, had invaded the Lausitz. He, for some time, watched them without hazarding an engagement, under an idea that they were themselves too cautious and timid to venture an attack. He was, however, mistaken. The Austrians surprised his camp at Hochkirch during the night of October the 14th. The Prussians, the hussar troop of the faithful Ziethen, whose warnings had been neglected by the king, alone excepted, slept, and were only roused by the roaring of their own artillery, which Laudon had already seized and turned upon their camp. The excellent discipline of the Prussian soldiery, nevertheless, enabled them, half-naked as they were, and notwithstanding the darkness of the night, to place themselves under arms, and the king, although with immense loss, to make an orderly retreat. He lost nine thousand men, many of his bravest officers, and upwards of a hundred pieces of artillery. The principal object of the Austrians, that of taking the king prisoner or of annihilating his army at a blow, was, however, frustrated. Frederick eluded the pursuit of the enemy and went straight into Silesia, whence he drove the Austrian general, Harsch, who was besieging Neisse, across the mountains into Bohemia. The approach of winter put a stop to hostilities on both sides.

During this year, Frederick received powerful aid from Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, brother to Charles, the reigning duke, who replaced Cumberland in the command of the Hanoverians and Hessians, with great ability covered the right flank of the Prussians, manœuvred the French, under their

wretched general, Richelieu, who enriched himself with the plunder of Halberstadt, across the Rhine, and defeated Clermont, Richelieu's successor, at Crefeld. His nephew, the crown prince, Ferdinand, served under him with distinction. Towards the conclusion of the campaign, an army under Broglio again pushed forward and succeeded in defeating the Prince von Ysenburg, who was to have covered Hesse with seven thousand men, at Sangerhausen ; another body of troops under Soubise also beat Count Oberg on the Lutterberg. The troops on both sides then withdrew into winter quarters. The French had, during this campaign, also penetrated as far as East Frizeland, whence they were driven by the peasantry until Würmser of Alsace made terms with them and maintained the severest discipline among his troops.

The campaign of 1759 was opened with great caution by the allies. The French reinforced the army opposed to the duke of Brunswick and attacked him on two sides, Broglio from the Maine, Contades from the Lower Rhine. The duke was pushed back upon Bergen, but nevertheless gained a glorious victory over the united French leaders at Minden. His nephew, the crown prince, Ferdinand, also defeated another French army under Brissac, on the same day, at Herford. The imperial army, commanded by its newly nominated leader, Charles of Würtemberg, advanced, but was attacked by the crown prince, whilst its commander was amusing himself at a ball at Fulda, and ignominiously put to flight. Frederick, although secure against danger from this quarter, was threatened with still greater peril by the attempted junction of the Russians and Austrians, who had at length discovered that the advantages gained by Frederick had been mainly owing to the want of unity in his opponents. The Russians under Soltikow, accordingly, approached the Oder. Frederick, at that time fully occupied with keeping the main body of the Austrians under Daun at bay in Bohemia, had been unable to hinder Laudon from advancing with twenty thousand men for the purpose of forming a junction with the Russians. In this extremity, he commissioned the youthful general, Wedel, to use every exertion to prevent the further advance of the Russians. Wedel was, however, overwhelmed by the Russians near the village of Kay, and the junction with Laudon took place. Frederick now hastened in person to the scene of

danger, leaving his brother, Henry, to make head against Daun. On the banks of the Oder at Cunnersdorf, not far from Frankfurt, the king attempted to obstruct the passage of the enemy, in the hope of annihilating him by a bold manœuvre, which, however, failed, and he suffered the most terrible defeat that took place on either side during this war, August the 12th, 1759. He ordered his troops to storm a sand mountain, bristling with batteries, from the bottom of the valley of the Oder; they obeyed, but were unable to advance through the deep sand, and were annihilated by the enemy's fire. A ball struck the king, whose life was saved by the circumstance of its coming in contact with an étui in his waistcoat pocket. He was obliged to be carried almost by force off the field when all was lost. The poet, Kleist, after storming three batteries and crushing his right hand, took his sword in his left hand and fell, whilst attempting to carry a fourth.

Soltikow, fortunately for the king, ceased his pursuit. The conduct of the Russian generals was, throughout this war, often marked by inconsistency. They sometimes left the natural ferocity of their soldiery utterly unrestrained, at others, enforced strict discipline, hesitated in their movements, or spared their opponent. The key to this conduct was their dubious position with the Russian court. The empress, Elisabeth, continually instigated by her minister, Bestuscheff, against Prussia, was in her dotage, was subject to daily fits of drunkenness, and gave signs of approaching dissolution. Her nephew, Peter, the son of her sister, Anna, and of Charles Frederick, Prince of Holstein Gottorp, the heir to the throne of Russia, was a profound admirer of the great Prussian monarch, took him for his model, secretly corresponded with him, became his spy at the Russian court, and made no secret of his intention to enter into alliance with him on the death of the empress. The generals, fearful of rendering themselves obnoxious to the future emperor, consequently showed great remissness in obeying Bestuscheff's commands. Frederick, however, although unharassed by the Russians, was still doomed to suffer fresh mishaps. His brother, Henry, had, with great prudence, cut off the magazines and convoys to Daun's rear, and had consequently hampered his movements. The king was, notwithstanding, discontented, and, unnecessarily fearing lest Daun might still succeed in effect-

ing a junction with Soltikow and Laudon, recalled his brother, and by so doing occasioned the very movement it was his object to prevent. Daun advanced; and General Fink, whom Frederick had despatched against him at the head of ten thousand men, fell into his hands. Shut up in Maxen, and too weak to force its way through the enemy, the whole corps was taken prisoner. Dresden also fell; Schmettau, the Prussian commandant, had, up to this period, bravely held out, notwithstanding the smallness of the garrison, but, dispirited by the constant ill success, he at length resolved, at all events, to save the military chest, which contained three million dollars, and capitulated on a promise of free egress. By this act he incurred the heavy displeasure of his sovereign, who dismissed both him and Prince Henry.* Fortune, however, once more favoured Frederick; Soltikow separated his troops from those of Austria and retraced his steps. The Russians always consumed more than the other troops, and destroyed their means of subsistence by their predatory habits.† Austria vainly offered gold; Soltikow persisted in his intention and merely replied, "My men cannot eat gold." Frederick was now enabled, by escaping the vigilance of the Austrians, to throw himself upon Dresden, for the purpose of regaining a position indispensable to him on account of its proximity to Bohemia, Silesia, the Mere or Saxony. His project, however, failed, notwithstanding the terrible bombardment of the city, and he vented his wrath at this discomfiture on the gallant regiment of Bernburg, which he punished for its want of success by stripping it of every token of military glory. The constant want of ready money for the purpose of recruiting his army, terribly thinned by the unceasing warfare, compelled him to circulate a false currency, the English subsidies no longer covering the expenses of the war and his own territory being occupied by the enemy. Saxony consequently suffered, and was, owing to this necessity, completely drained, the town-council at Leip-

* Frederick the Great has been ever charged with ingratitude for this treatment of his brother, who expired during the ensuing year. Schmettau is the same officer who had risen to such distinction during the war with Turkey.

† Frederick replied to the loud complaints, "We have to do with barbarians, foes to humanity. We ought, however, rather to seek a remedy for the evil than to give way to lamentations."—*Klöber.*

zig being, for instance, shut up in the depth of winter without bedding, light, or firing, until it had voted a contribution of eight tons of gold; the finest forests were cut down and sold, etc. Berlin, meanwhile, fell into the hands of the Russians, who, on this occasion, behaved with humanity. General Tottleben even ordered his men to fire upon the allied troop, consisting of fifteen thousand Austrians, under Lascy and Brentano, for attempting to infringe the terms of capitulation by plundering the city. The Saxons destroyed the château of Charlottenburg and the superb collection of antiques contained in it, an irreparable loss to art, in revenge for the destruction of the palaces of Brühl by Frederick. No other treasures of art were carried away or destroyed either by Frederick in Dresden or by his opponents in Berlin.—This campaign offered but a single pleasing feature, the unexpected relief of Colberg, who was hard pushed by the Russians in Pomerania, by the Prussian hussars under General Werner.

Misfortune continued to pursue the king throughout the campaign of 1760. Fouquet, one of his favourites, was, with eight thousand men, surprised and taken prisoner by Laudon in the Giant Mountains near Landshut; the mountain country was cruelly laid waste. The important fortress of Glatz fell, and Breslau was besieged. This city was defended by General Tauenzien, a man of great intrepidity. The celebrated Lessing was at that time his secretary. With merely three thousand Prussians, he undertook the defence of the extensive city, within whose walls were nineteen thousand Austrian prisoners, and, on Laudon threatening to storm the place and not even to spare the child within its mother's womb, he coolly replied, "Neither I nor my men happen to be in the family way." He maintained the city until relieved by Frederick. The king hastened to defend Silesia, for which Soltikow's procrastination allowed him ample opportunity. Daun had, it is true, succeeded in forming a junction with Laudon at Liegnitz, but their camps were separate, and the two generals were on bad terms. Frederick advanced close in their vicinity. An attempt made by Laudon, during the night of the 15th of August, to repeat the disaster of Hochkirch, was frustrated by the secret advance of the king to his rencontre, and a brilliant victory was gained by the Prussians over their most dangerous antagonist. The sound of the ar-

tillery being carried by the wind in a contrary direction, the news of the action and of its disastrous termination reached Daun simultaneously ; at all events, he put this circumstance forward as an excuse, on being, not groundlessly, suspected of having betrayed Laudon from a motive of jealousy. He retreated into Saxony. The regiment of Bernburg had greatly distinguished itself in this engagement, and on its termination, an old subaltern officer stepped forward and demanded from the king the restoration of its military badges, to which Frederick gratefully acceded.

Scarcely, however, were Breslau relieved and Silesia delivered from Laudon's wild hordes, than his rear was again threatened by Daun, who had fallen back upon the united imperial army in Saxony and threatened to form a junction with the Russians then stationed in his vicinity in the Mere. Frederick, conscious of his utter inability to make head against this overwhelming force, determined, at all risks, to bring Daun and the imperial army to a decisive engagement before their junction with the Russians, and, accordingly, attacked them at Torgau. Before the commencement of the action, he earnestly addressed his officers and solemnly prepared for death. Daun, naturally as anxious to evade an engagement as Frederick was to hazard one, had, as at Collin, taken up an extremely strong position, and received the Prussians with a well-sustained fire. A terrible havoc ensued ; the battle raged with various fortune during the whole of the day, and, notwithstanding the most heroic attempts, the position was still uncarried at fall of night. The confusion had become so general, that Prussian fought with Prussian, whole regiments had disbanded, and the king was wounded, when Ziethen, the gallant hussar general, who had during the night cut his way through the Austrians, who were in an equal state of disorder, and had taken the heights, rushed into his presence. Ziethen had often excited the king's ridicule by his practice of brandishing his sabre over his head in sign of the cross, as an invocation for the aid of Heaven, before making battle ; but now, deeply moved, he embraced his deliverer, whose work was seen at break of day. The Austrians were in full retreat. This bloody action, by which the Prussian monarchy was saved, took place on the 3rd of November, 1760.

George II., king of England, expired during this year. His

grandson, George III., the son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who had preceded his father to the tomb, at first declared in favour of Prussia, and fresh subsidies were voted to her monarch by the English parliament, which at the same time expressed "its deep admiration of his unshaken fortitude and of the inexhaustible resources of his genius." Female influence, however, ere long placed Lord Bute in Pitt's stead at the helm of state, and the subsidies so urgently demanded by Prussia were withdrawn. The duke of Brunswick was, meanwhile, again victorious at Billinghausen over the French, and covered the king on that side. On the other hand, the junction of the Austrians with the Russians was effected in 1761 ; the allied army amounted in all to one hundred and thirty thousand men, and Frederick's army, solely consisting of fifty thousand, would in all probability have been again annihilated, had he not secured himself behind the fortress of Schweidnitz, in the strong position at Bunzelwitz. Butterlin, the Russian general, was moreover little inclined to come to an engagement on account of the illness of the empress and the favour with which Frederick was beheld by the successor to the throne. It was in vain that Laudon exerted all the powers of eloquence, the Russians remained in a state of inactivity and finally withdrew. Laudon avenged himself by unexpectedly taking Schweidnitz under the eyes of the king by a clever coup-de-main, and had not an heroic Prussian artillery-man set fire to a powder magazine, observing as he did so, "All of ye shall not get into the town!" and blown himself with an immense number of Austrians into the air, he would have made himself master of this important strong-hold almost without losing a man. Frederick retreated upon Breslau.

The empress, Elisabeth, expired in the ensuing year, A. D. 1762, and was succeeded by Peter III., who instantly ranged himself on the side of Prussia. Six months afterwards he was assassinated, and his widow seized the reins of government under the title of Catherine II. Frederick was on the eve of giving battle to the Austrians at Reichenbach in Silesia and the Russians under Czernitscheff were under his command when the news arrived of the death of his friend and of the inimical disposition of the new empress, who sent Czernitscheff instant orders to abandon the Prussian banner. Such was, however, Frederick's influence over the Russian general, that he pre-

ferred hazarding his head rather than abandon the king at this critical conjuncture, and, deferring the publication of the empress's orders for three days, remained quietly within the camp. Frederick meanwhile was not idle, and gained a complete victory over the Austrians, the 21st of July, 1762. The attempt made by a Silesian nobleman, Baron Warkotsch, together with a priest named Schmidt, secretly to carry off the king from his quarters at Strehlen, failed. In the autumn, Frederick besieged and took Schweidnitz. The two most celebrated French engineers put their new theories into practice on this occasion; Lefevre, for the Prussians against the fortress, Griboval, for the Austrians engaged in its defence. Frederick's good fortune was shared by Prince Henry, who defeated the imperial troops at Freiburg in Saxony, and by Ferdinand of Brunswick, who gained several petty advantages over the French, defeating Soubise at Wilhelmsthal and the Saxons on the Lutterbach. The spiritless war on this side was finally terminated during the course of this year, A. D. 1762, by a peace between England and France.* Golz had at the same time instigated the Tartars in Southern Russia to revolt, and was on the point of creating a diversion with fifty thousand of them in Frederick's favour. Frederick, with a view of striking the empire with terror, also despatched General Kleist into Franconia, with a flying corps, which no sooner made its appearance in Nuremberg † and Bamberg than the whole of the South was seized with a general panic, Charles, duke of Würtemberg, for instance, preparing for instant flight from Stuttgard. Stürzebecher, a bold cornet of the Prussian huzzars, accompanied by a trumpeter and by five and twenty men, advanced as far as Rothenburg on the Tauber, where, forcing his way through the city gate, he demanded a contribution of 80,000 dollars from the town-council. The citizens of this town, which had once so heroically opposed the whole of Tilly's forces, were chased by a handful of huzzars into the Bockshorn, and were actually compelled to pay a fine of

* This campaign was merely a succession of manœuvres and skirmishes, in which Lukner and his huzzars chiefly distinguished themselves against the French, whose service Lukner afterwards entered. He had, at an earlier period, headed the Bavarians against Austria.

† Nuremberg had never before yielded. Frederick observed on this occasion, "Kleist has snatched the maiden wreath from the grey locks of that ancient virgin."

40,000 florins, with which the cornet scoffingly withdrew, carrying off with him two of the town-councillors as hostages. So deeply had the citizens of the free towns of the empire at that time degenerated.

Frederick's opponents at length perceived the folly of carrying on war without the slightest prospect of success. The necessary funds were, moreover, wanting. France was weary of sacrificing herself for Austria. Catherine of Russia, who had views upon Poland and Turkey, foresaw that the aid of Prussia would be required in order to keep Austria in check and both cleverly and quickly entered into an understanding with her late opponent. Austria was, consequently, also compelled to succumb. The rest of the allied powers had no voice in the matter. Peace was concluded at Hubertsburg, one of the royal Saxon residences, February the 15th, 1763. Frederick retained possession of the whole of his dominions. The machinations of his enemies had not only been completely frustrated, but Prussia had issued from the seven years' war with redoubled strength and glory; she had confirmed her power by her victories, had rendered herself feared and respected, and had raised herself from her station as one of the principal potentates of Germany on a par with the great powers of Europe.

CCXXXVII.—*Frederick Sanspareil.*

The Prussian king, who well deserved his soubriquet of Sanspareil, devoted himself, on his return to Sanssouci, to the occupations of peace, in which he might also serve as a model to all other princes. Every thing prospered under his fostering care. The confidence inspired by his government attracted numbers of foreigners into the country, where he placed waste lands in a state of cultivation, built numerous villages, made roads and canals, and promoted agriculture and industry. Prussia quickly recovered from the calamities of war, and the royal exchequer and the wealth of the country increased at an equal ratio. Among his economical measures, the monopolies in tobacco and coffee are alone reprehensible. The cultivation of the potato, against which there existed a popular prejudice, in Prussia and afterwards throughout Germany, was mainly forwarded by him. The importance of

this root as an article of food had been strikingly proved during the seven years' war. In Silesia, where its cultivation had been enforced by Count Schlaberndorf, the Prussian minister, the famine, caused by the failure of the crops in 1770, had been, notwithstanding the immense concourse of poor, felt with far less severity than in the neighbouring countries; in Saxony, where one hundred thousand, in Bohemia, where one hundred and eighty thousand men perished of hunger, and whence twenty thousand persons migrated to Prussia, the land of potatoes. The new monopolies or *regie* were more particularly unpopular on account of the persons employed in their administration being brought from France by the king, who thus virtually exposed the brave victors of Rossbach to the chicanery of their conquered foe.

The army next occupied his attention. In the autumn and spring he held great reviews for the sake of practice, and perfect order and discipline were maintained during the whole of his reign. The faults in the internal organization of the army were first discovered after his death. Frederick, although personally a patron of art and a promoter of civilization, greatly depreciated the progress of enlightenment in Germany, nor did he perceive that the bourgeoisie, whom he had, on his accession to the throne, found in a state of ignorance and discouragement, had gradually risen to one of great moral and mental refinement, whilst the nobility, whom, at least in Prussia, he had found, during his earlier years, simple in their habits and fitted for the duties of their station, had, as gradually, sunk in luxury and become totally incapable of mental exertion. His exclusive nomination of nobles to all the higher posts in the army was at first natural, the peasant-recruits being already accustomed, in their native provinces, to the sway of the nobility; but his total exclusion, at a later period, of the whole of the citizen class, was productive of immense evils to his successor. The system of flogging was another abuse. Severe punishments had formerly been found necessary among the infantry on account of the inclination of the homeless mercenary to desert his colours or to plunder; but the infliction of corporeal punishment first became general in the army on the enrolment of the peasant serfs, when the system of flogging, prevalent in the villages, was introduced

into the army. This system, consequently, merely prevailed in Prussia and Austria, Slavonian provinces long sunk in the deepest slavery. Other states followed their example, but were unable to carry this system into effect wherever a spark of honour still glowed in the bosoms of the people.* The retention of the unsuitable military dress, introduced by his father, of pigtails, powdered hair, tight breeches, etc., was another of Frederick's caprices.

The simple and strict administration of justice continually occupied the attention of the king. The Codex Frid. formed the basis of the provincial law of Prussia, which was not, however, completed until after his death, by Carmer, A. D. 1794. The injustice enacted in other countries was viewed by him with deep abhorrence, and never was his anger more highly excited than when he imagined that his name had been abused for the purpose of passing an iniquitous judgment. A windmill, not far from Sanssouci, obstructed the view, but the miller threatening to lay a complaint against him in his own court of justice, he chose rather to endure the inconvenience than to resort to violence. Another miller, Arnold, charging a nobleman with having diverted the water from his mill, Frederick, anxious to act with strict justice, sent a confidential officer to the spot to investigate the affair. The officer, either owing to negligence or to some private reason, pronounced in favour of the miller, who was actually in the wrong, and the king instantly deprived three of his chief justices and a number of the lower officers of the law of their appointments and detained the former for some time in prison. Still, notwithstanding his arbitrary and, on some occasions, cruel decisions, he inspired the law officers with a wholesome fear, and by the commission of one injustice often obviated that of many others. His treatment of Colonel Trenck, an Austrian, whom he detained a close prisoner at Magdeburg for eighteen years, made much noise. This handsome adventurer had secretly carried on an intercourse with the king's sister, had mixed himself up with politics,

* Louis XV. attempted to introduce the Prussian military system, and, with it, that of flogging, into the French army, but the soldiers mutinied, shot the subalterns, who had ventured to use the cane, and one of the latter, on being ordered to give the lash to one of the privates, instantly ripped up his own belly. This fact is related by Schubart, at that time one of the brightest ornaments of Germany, who concludes with the exclamation, "What a disgrace for Germany!"

devised intrigues, and a bare-faced indiscretion had occasioned his long imprisonment, whence he was liberated on Frederick's death.——The manner in which the king answered all the cases and petitions presented to him, by a short marginal note, was extremely characteristic, his remarks and decisions being generally just, but witty, satirical, often cruel, and always badly written, on account of his imperfect knowledge of his mother tongue.

He was equally laconic in conversation and sharp in manner. With a large three-cornered laced hat on his head, rather stooping shoulders, a thread-bare blue uniform with red facings and broad skirts, a long pig-tail hanging behind, the front of his waistcoat covered with snuff, which he took in enormous quantities, short black breeches and long boots, his sword buckled to his side and his celebrated crutch-cane in his hand, he inspired all whom he addressed with awe. No one, however, possessed in a higher degree the art of pleasing, whenever he happened to be surrounded by persons of congenial taste and pursuits, or that of acquiring popularity.*

Frederick exercised immense influence on the spirit of the times, the general impulse towards enlightenment. The age had indeed need of assistance in its attempts to repel the mists of ignorance and superstition by which it was obscured. The pedantry of the schools had already partially yielded before the attacks of Thomasius, who had been the first to tear asunder the veil and to admit the light, which, under Frederick's administration, now poured freely in on all sides. The influence of the French philosophers of the day necessarily preponderated. Fortunately, they were not all as frivolous as Voltaire, and the more fervid enthusiasm of Rousseau, the clear political views of Montes-

* Innumerable anecdotes are related of him. During the seven years' war, a Croat aiming at him from behind a bush, he looked sternly at him, shook his cane (which he carried even when on horseback) at him, and the Croat fled.——The people of Potsdam had stuck up a caricature in which he was represented with a coffee-mill in his lap, at the street corner; he saw it as he passed along and told the bystanders to hang it lower down and they would see it with greater convenience.——One of the subalterns of his guard, being too poor to buy a watch, attached a bullet to his chain and wore it in his pocket. This was perceived by the king, who one day purposely asked him what time it was. The officer, unable to evade an *exposé*, drew forth the bullet, saying as he did so, "My watch points but to one hour, that in which I die for your Majesty." Frederick instantly presented him with his own watch, set in brilliants.

quieu, were far better suited to the gravity of the German. Still, notwithstanding the influence of Frederick the Great, Gallomania did not long characterize our literature. Gottsched at Leipzig attempted its establishment, but it was completely overthrown by Lessing at Wolfenbüttel, and to it succeeded Græcomania and Anglomania, a predilection for the ancient authors of Greece and Rome, first tastefully displayed by Heyne at Göttingen, and for the liberal and manly literature of England, with which a closer acquaintance had been formed since the accession of the house of Hanover to that throne. The patriotic pride of Lessing, the study of the classics and of English literature, served as a guard against French exaggeration, which, nevertheless, exercised but too powerful an influence upon the German character. Voltaire first taught the German to form hasty and superficial ideas upon religion, and Rousseau first enervated his honest heart by false and sickly sentimentality. During the first stage of his progress towards the enlightenment he so much needed, he was but a contemptible and ridiculous caricature of his French model.

The enlightenment of the past century, about which so much has been said and written, demanded a religion of love and toleration, (the demand of the first Pietists, who afterwards became noted for intolerance,) in the place of the religion of intolerance hitherto inculcated by the church, the equality of all confessions of faith, (as established in North America,) the conformity of the dogma of the church with the demands of sound human reason, (rationalism,) or the total proscription of the dogma in so far as they were incompatible with what it pleased the philosophers of the day to consider natural and reasonable (natural religion, Deism). The result of these demands was absolute infidelity, which rejected every religion as equally false and even denied the existence of a deity, (Atheism,) the adoration of nature and the most extravagant sensuality (materialism).

The beneficent government of humane sovereigns, wise guardians of the people, was demanded instead of the despotism that had hitherto prevailed, and the future happiness of the human race was declared to be the infallible result of this blessed change in the administration. On the separation of the North American colonies from England, their parent country, and their formation into a republic, republican notions began

to spread; they were, moreover, greatly fostered by the example of the ancients, whose histories were diligently studied, and by the *contrat social* of Rousseau, which reproduced the ancient German political principle of a constitution based upon the union of free and equal members of society as a new discovery. At first, the general demand was for that best of all republics, the sovereignty of virtue; but, by degrees, the republic became a matter of speculation for vices impatient of the restraint imposed by laws.

The immorality that, like a pestilence, had spread from France and infected the courts and the higher classes in Germany, took shelter beneath the new doctrines of humanism. Open profligacy was, it is true, discouraged, but the weaknesses of the heart, as they were termed, served as an excuse for the infraction of the Catholic vow of celibacy and of the strict moral tenets of the Protestant church. The tears of the sentimentalist atoned for the weakness of the flesh. An incredible increase in the production and study of romances naturally followed. The unprincipled sentimentality of the middle classes was even more pernicious in effect than the open profligacy of the nobility and of the courts. It was owing to this cause alone that Germany, at the outbreak of the French Revolution, at a time that called for energy and for the exertion of every manly virtue, contained so many cowards.

Good and evil advanced hand in hand as enlightenment progressed. Men, confused by the novelty of the ideas propounded, were at first unable to discern their real value. The transition from ancient to modern times had, however, become necessary, and was greatly facilitated by the tolerance of the great sovereign of Prussia, who, notwithstanding that, by his predilection for French philosophy and his inclination towards rationalism, he at first gave a false bias to the moral development of Germany, greatly accelerated its progress. He gave his subjects full liberty to believe, think, say, write, and publish whatever they deemed proper, extended his protection to those who sought shelter within his territories from the persecution of the priests, and enforced universal toleration. On one occasion alone, one that escaped the observation of the sovereign, did the censor, Justi, dare to suppress a work, the "Letters on Literature," in which his own dull productions were severely criticised. The works, printed in Prussia from

1740 to 1786, offer a convincing proof of the unparalleled liberality of this absolute sovereign. The freedom from restriction greatly favoured the progress of German literature, but still more so the personal indifference of the king, which prevented it from becoming servile. How insignificant was Ramler, whom he appointed poet laureat! how great was Lessing, who never paid court to or was noticed by him!

Frederick was, in his private hours, chiefly surrounded by foreigners. Maupertius, the Marquis d'Argens, Algarotti, Mitchel, the English ambassador, Marshal Keith, a Scotchman, a proscribed partisan of the exiled Stuart, such a noble-hearted man, that Frederick said of him, "Le bon Milord me force de croire à la vertu," General Lentulus, and the notorious De la Mettrie.*. He carried on a frequent correspondence with Voltaire † and D'Alembert, the latter of whom he appointed president to the Royal Academy of Berlin. Raynal and Rousseau, two of the noblest of the French writers, took refuge within his states, one at Berlin, the other at Neufchâtel, from the persecution to which the freedom of their opinions had exposed them. Frederick was himself an author of no mean talent; in his youth he wrote an "Antimachiavel," in which he recommended to princes a moral policy, never followed by himself, and several poems; at a later period, the "History of his Own Times;" that of the "Seven Years' War;" "Considerations, Financial and Political, on the State of Europe;" "Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg;" besides numerous spirited letters, which were collected after his death.

* Who wrote openly, "that there is no God, no immortality, that man is intended to follow every natural impulse, that sensual pleasure is his only aim in life, that virtue is a ridiculous dream destructive of enjoyment, and that death is the end of all things." His depraved course of life was consistent with his principles. Frederick, nevertheless, appointed him his lecturer. Mitchel relates, that Frederick always spoke of Voltaire as a rogue, although he continued to correspond with him. This taste may, perhaps, be physically accounted for; Zimmermann says, that during the latter part of Frederick's life, he could not touch a dish without first seasoning it with immense quantities of Cayenne.

† Voltaire compared Frederick with the emperor Julian the Apostate, who abolished Christianity and restored Paganism. He generally concluded his confidential letters with the words "ecrasez l'infame," meaning Christianity. On the 24th of July, 1763, he wrote to D'Alembert that surely five or six men of genius like them could overthrow a religion founded by twelve beggars. He greatly complained of Frederick's want of energy in the cause.

The fall of the Jesuits was the first great result of the advance of enlightenment. One extreme is ever productive of another. The dissolution of these guardians of ignorance was perhaps alone rendered possible by the existence of an equal degree of exaggeration on the side of their opponents. The policy of the times, moreover, favoured the general inclination. The princes greedily grasped at the church property that had escaped the general plunder during the Reformation. In France, Spain, and Portugal, the ancient bulwarks of Catholicism, ministers rose to office, who, convinced of the excellence of Frederick's policy, kept pace with their times, and followed as zealously in his footsteps as the German princes formerly had in those of Louis XIV. In Austria, the Archduke Joseph, the eccentric son of Maria Theresa, glowed for an Utopia of liberty and justice, and Kaunitz persuaded the otherwise bigoted empress to pursue the old Ghibelline policy by which the pope was rendered subordinate to the head of the empire. Pope Clement XIV., a man of great enlightenment, also filled St. Peter's chair at that time, and hence it happened that the notorious Society of Jesus was solemnly dissolved in all Catholic countries by a papal bull, A. D. 1773. The unfortunate pope was instantly poisoned by the revengeful Jesuits. Frederick, true to his principle of universal toleration * and desirous of displaying his independence, † permitted them to retain their former footing in Catholic Silesia. On the dissolution of the Society, the most scandalous deeds were brought to light. The attention of the public was taken up with judicial proceedings and satirical writings. A scandalous lawsuit, that of father Marcellus at Augsburg, for unnatural crimes committed in the school under the control of the Jesuits, the opening of the prisons of the Society at Munich, where twelve skeletons were discovered attached to chains, created the greatest noise. The history of the Society, and the principles on

* He often said, "In my states every one can go his own way to heaven."

† The Jesuits were so delighted, that they spread a report that the king was on the point of turning Catholic. The ex-jesuit Demelmaier declared from the pulpit at Straubing, that the king's coach-horses had fallen on their knees before the pyx. Shortly afterwards, on Frederick's siding with Bavaria against Austria, as Dohm relates, his picture was seen in a Bavarian village at the side of that of a saint, with a lamp beneath it.

which it was based, were now thoroughly investigated and criticised. It is, however, probable that some of the governments would not have so readily assented to its dissolution but for the extraordinary wealth it possessed. The courts were in want of money, and, on this occasion, made a truly royal booty, of which but a small portion was set aside for educational purposes. The Emperor Joseph appears to have had this booty very much in view. His mother, Maria Theresa, who, in 1748, had, in her right as queen of Hungary, assumed the title of Apostolical Majesty, and, in 1752, had driven four thousand Protestants out of Styria, was merely induced to give her consent to the dissolution of the Society on moral grounds. A written document, containing the substance of her confessions to her Jesuit confessor, was sent to her from Madrid, a proof of perfidy by which she was first convinced of the immorality, according to their statutes, legally practised by the members of the Society.

At the very time that Germany was delivered from the curse of Jesuitism, the crime, termed by way of distinction the crime of the age, was committed against Poland, and distinctly shows the moral principle by which the statesmen of that time were guided. Virtue was never the object of their policy, but simply a means for the success of some political scheme. "Do not talk to me of magnanimity," said Frederick, "a prince can only study his interest." Poland, like Germany, owed the loss of her unity to her aristocracy; but the Waiwodes and Starosts, instead of founding petty states, like the German dukes and counts, and of allowing the formation of a civic class, became utterly ungovernable, and, too jealous to place the crown on the head of one of their own number, continued, from one generation to another, to elect a foreigner for their king. As long as Poland still maintained a shadow of her ancient dignity, her choice was free and unbiassed and ever fell upon some weak prince, as, for instance, the Elector of Saxony; but, as her internal dissensions became more frequent, she allowed her potent neighbour to impose a sovereign upon her. On the demise of Augustus III., [A. D. 1763,] Catherine II. of Russia effected the election of one of her numerous paramours, the handsome Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Pole by birth and her servile tool. A foreboding of the dreadful doom awaiting their country was roused by this stroke of Russian policy in

the bosom of some patriotic Poles, who confederated for the purpose of dethroning the favourite of the foreign autocrat. Catherine, however, sent one of her armies into the wretched country, which was by her orders, by the orders of the self-termed female philosopher, laid waste with most inhuman barbarity. Cannibals could not have perpetrated more cold-blooded acts of cruelty than the Russians, whom the noble and gallant Pulawski vainly opposed, A. D. 1769. Catherine, fearing lest the Turks might aid the unfortunate Poles, attacked them also, and victoriously extended her sway to the South.

The whole of the states of Europe, although threatened by the increasing power of Russia, remained inactive. England was occupied with her colonies, France with her mistresses and fêtes, Sweden was powerless. Austria and Prussia, the most imminently threatened, might, if united, have easily protected Poland, and have hindered the advance of Russia towards the Black Sea, but they were filled with mutual distrust. In 1769, Frederick II. and Joseph held a remarkable conference at Neisse, in Silesia, when an attempt was made to place German policy on a wider basis. Who could withstand, was it said, a coalition between all the powers of Germany? "I think," said Frederick the Great, "that we Germans have long enough spilt German blood; it is a pity that we cannot come to a better understanding." Joseph lamented the unpatriotic alliance between Austria and France, and even Prince Kaunitz, the propounder of that alliance, declared that the cession of Lorraine to France was a political blunder that never could have taken place had *he* been in office at that period. And yet, in despite of these declarations, the sovereigns came to no understanding; nor was a second conference held in the ensuing year at Mährisch-Neustadt, notwithstanding the five protestations reiterated on this occasion, more effective.* The want of concord was entirely owing to Frederick's disbelief in the sincerity of Austria. Austria had

* Frederick, on seeing Laudon, whom he had formerly despised on account of his ugliness, and who had bitterly enough avenged the insult, among Joseph's suite, took him by the arm and placed him next to him at table,—"Sit down here, sit down here, I would rather have you at my side than opposite to me." At Neustadt, Frederick is said to have observed to the emperor, whilst reviewing the assembled troops, "The most extraordinary thing in our interview is, that all these thousands should fear us two!"

already bestowed the hand of an archduchess on the king of Poland and had tendered her aid to the overwhelming Catholic party among the Polish nobility. Had Prussia united with Austria for the rescue of Poland, the influence of Russia would, it is true, have been weakened whilst that of Austria would have been thereby strengthened, without her having gained the slightest advantage. These grounds determined Frederick not only to leave Russia unopposed, but even to make use of her against Austria, and his brother, Henry, whom he sent to St. Petersburg, accordingly, carried on negotiations to this intent. The Austrians, upon this, held a council of war, in which the question, whether it was advisable to declare war with Russia in case Prussia sided against them with Russia, was agitated. The question was negatived, [A. D. 1771,] and, from this moment, the partition of Poland was determined upon. Austria, no longer desirous of driving the Russians out of Poland, was merely intent upon sharing the booty, and, abandoning her ancient character as the protectress of that ill-fated country, was the first to make the attack by formally taking possession of the Zips, to which she asserted her ancient right, before Russia, notwithstanding her arbitrary rule in Poland, had formally declared the incorporation of the Polish provinces with the Russian empire. Prussia, meanwhile, cleverly made use of the reciprocal jealousy between Russia and Austria to secure her portion of the booty. The three powers bargained with each other for Poland like merchants over a bale of goods, and Russia, the originator of the whole scheme and the first possessor of the country, retained by far the largest share.* The negotiations were brought to a close, August the 5th, 1773; the Austrians and Prussians entered Poland, of which the Russians had already taken possession, and proclaimed her partition, "in the name of the indivisible Trinity," to which Catherine more particularly added, "for the restoration of the prosperity of Poland." Russia seized almost the whole of Lithuania; Austria, Galicia; Prussia, the province of the Lower Vistula, under the name of Western Prussia. The rest of Poland

* Gregory Orlow, Catherine's favourite, was of opinion that the Russian ministers, who had concurred in the partition, deserved to be deprived of their heads for not having kept the whole of Poland for his mistress.

was bestowed upon the wretched king, Stanislaus, under the name of the republic of Poland, on which the laws prescribed by the three powers were imposed, and which was so constituted as to render unity for the future impracticable in Poland and to favour the wildest anarchy. Every noble had the *liberum veto*, that is, the power of annihilating the decisions of the diet by his single vote. With a constitution of this nature, Poland naturally sank ever deeper into the abyss of ruin.

Two voices alone throughout Germany ventured to protest against this political murder. Maria Theresa had in her old age committed the control of foreign affairs to her son Joseph and to Kaunitz, but she no sooner learnt the partition of Poland than she thus addressed the latter: "When the whole of my possessions were disputed and I no longer knew where to sit down in peace, I placed my trust in the justice of my cause and in the aid of Heaven. But, in this affair, where injured right not only openly cries for vengeance against us, but in which all justice and sound reason are opposed to us, I must affirm, that never throughout the whole course of my existence have I been so pained, and that I am ashamed to be seen. Let the prince reflect what an example we offer to the whole world by hazarding our honour and reputation for the sake of a miserable bit of Poland. I see plainly that I am alone and am no longer *en vigueur*, and I therefore let the matter, though not without the greatest sorrow, take its own course." She signed her name with these words, "*Placet*, as so many and learned men desire it; but when I have been long dead, the consequences of this violation of all that until now has been deemed holy and just will be experienced." The other voice was that of the Swabian, Schubart, who ventured, even at that period, to lament the fate of "Poland pale with woe" in one of his finest poems.

Prussia had, moreover, come off the worst in the partition, the other powers refusing at any price to permit her occupation of Dantzig. The object of this refusal on the part of Russia was to prevent the whole commerce of Poland from falling into the hands of Prussia. Frederick revenged himself by the seizure of Neufahrwasser, the only navigable entrance into the harbour of Dantzig, and by the imposition of oppressive duties.

CCXXXVIII. *Joseph the Second.*

THUS emperor, who so zealously aided in the annihilation of an innocent nation and thus repaid John Sobieski's noble devotion with most unexampled ingratitude to his descendants, who evinced such utter want of feeling in his foreign policy, was, to the astonishment of the whole world, in his own dominions, the greatest enthusiast for popular liberty and the greatest promoter of national prosperity that ever sat upon a throne. On the death of his father, Francis I., A. D. 1765,* he became co-regent with his mother, and, although at first merely intrusted with the war administration, ere long interfered in every state affair, in which he was especially supported by the prime minister, Kaunitz, who, whilst apparently siding with him against the caprice or too conscientious scruples of his mother, rendered him his tool. The contradiction apparent in Joseph's conduct, the intermixture of so much injustice with his most zealous endeavours to do right, are simply explained by the influence of Kaunitz, who, like an evil spirit, ever attended him.

For the better confirmation of the unnatural alliance between Austria and France, Maria Antonia, (named by the French, Marie Antoinette,) Maria Theresa's lovely and accomplished daughter, was wedded [A. D. 1770] to the Dauphin, afterwards the unfortunate Louis XVI. She was

* Frederick II. writes of this puppet sovereign,—"The emperor, not daring to interfere in state matters, amused himself with the transaction of mercantile business. He laid by large sums from his Tuscan revenues in order to speculate in trade. He always retained alchymists in his service engaged in the search for the philosopher's stone, and he attempted by means of burning glasses to dissolve several small diamonds into one large one. He established manufactures, lent money on mortgages, and undertook to furnish the whole of the imperial army with uniforms, arms, horses, and liveries. In partnership with a certain Count Bolza and a tradesman named Schimmelmann, he farmed the Saxon customs, and, in 1756, even supplied the Prussian army with forage and flour. Although his consort passionately loved him and was a pattern of conjugal tenderness, she bore his ever-recurring infidelities without a murmur. The day before his death, he presented his mistress, the Princess von Auersberg, with a bill for 200,000 florins. The validity of a gift of this description was questioned, but Maria Theresa ordered the bill to be duly honoured.

received at Strassburg by the gay bishop, Cardinal Rohan, with the words, "The union of Bourbon with Habsburg must restore the golden age." Seven hundred and twelve people were crushed to death during the wedding festivities in Paris.

The emperor Joseph, during his mother's life-time, established beneficial laws, abolished the use of torture, [A. D. 1774,] and, by the publication of an Urbarium, sought more particularly to improve the condition of the peasantry. The collection of the taxes and the lower jurisdiction were to be undertaken by the state whenever the noble was unable to defray the expenses of the administration, and villages, consisting of more than one hundred and twenty houses, were raised to the importance of country towns and were granted several immunities. The government also entered into negotiation with the nobility on account of the gradually increasing pressure of soccage-service. The cautious nobles, however, declared to the empress, that they would not voluntarily yield, but would submit were arbitrary measures resorted to. These Maria Theresa refused to adopt, and the Bohemian peasantry, to whom hopes of redress had been held out, rose in open insurrection, which was quelled by force, A. D. 1775. Their leader, Joseph Czerny, and three others were hanged, one in each of the four quarters of the city of Prague.

Joseph was, shortly after this occurrence, again seized with a strong desire to extend his dominions. On the death of Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, without issue, A. D. 1777, the next heir, the weak and licentious Charles Theodore, of the collateral branch of the Pfalz, evincing a disinclination to Bavaria on account of his predilection for his natural children and for his residence, Mannheim, which he had greatly beautified, Joseph persuaded him to cede Lower Bavaria to Austria. This cession was, however, viewed with equal displeasure by the next of kin, Charles, duke of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, and by the Bavarians, who still retained their ancient hatred of Austria. Maria Anna, the talented widow of Duke Clement, Charles Theodore's sister-in-law, placed herself at the head of the Bavarians, supported by Count Görtz, whom Frederick II., who sought at every hazard to prevent the aggrandizement of Austria, had sent to her aid. The opposing armies took the field, but no decisive engagement was fought,

and this war was jestingly termed the potato war, the soldiers being chiefly engaged in devouring potatoes within the camps. Frederick the Great said that the war had brought him more hay than laurels, as it almost entirely consisted in foraging excursions. Ferdinand, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, maintained himself in a strong position at Troppau. Wurmser, the imperial general, surprised the enemy at Habelschwert and gained a trifling advantage. Neither side was in earnest; Frederick was old and sickly,—Maria Theresa so timid that she secretly negotiated with Frederick behind her son's back by means of Baron Thugut, who had formerly been an orphan lad. France was in a state of indecision. Austria is said to have promised to cede to her a part of the Pfalz, which Louis XVI., on the contrary, aided with a subsidy; but however that may be, France did not come openly forward. Russia, on the other hand, threatened Austria, who at length consented, by the treaty concluded at Teschen, [A. D. 1779,] to accept the province of the Inn and to relinquish the rest of Bavaria.

Maria Theresa expired A. D. 1780.* Joseph II. no sooner became sole sovereign than he began a multitude of reforms. With headlong enthusiasm, he at once attempted to uproot every ancient abuse and to force upon his subjects liberty and enlightenment, for which they were totally unfitted. Regardless of the power of hereditary prejudice, he arbitrarily upset every existing institution, in the conviction of promoting the real welfare of his subjects. His principal attack was directed against the hierarchy. On the assassination of the unfortunate pope, Clement VII., by the Jesuits, Pius VI., a handsome and rather weak-headed man, well fitted for performing a part in church exhibitions, and a tool of the ex-Jesuits, was placed on the pontifical throne. Joseph was by chance at Rome during his election, on which he exercised no influence, although the Romans enthusiastically greeted him as their emperor, A. D.

* She was remarkably beautiful in her youth, but later in life became extremely corpulent and was disfigured by the small-pox. She retained her liveliness of disposition to the last. With the same spirit as when at Frankfurt, beaming with delight, she stepped upon the balcony and was the first to cry "Vivat" at the moment of the coronation of her husband, did she in the Burg theatre at Vienna, on receiving the news of the birth of her first grandson, afterwards the emperor Francis II., rise from her seat and call out joyfully, in the Viennese dialect, to the parterre, "der Lepold hot an Buabn!" "Leopold has a boy!"

1774. Pius instantly checked every attempt at reform, evinced great zeal in holding church festivals, processions, and other spectacles, in which he could show off his handsome person, and did his utmost to displease the emperor. He even recognised Frederick the Great as king of Prussia, on account of the protection accorded by him to the Jesuits. Joseph, however, treated him with contempt, and openly showed his independence of the pontifical chair by declaring the Papal bull invalid throughout his states unless warranted by the *placet regium*. He completely abolished the begging orders and closed six hundred and twenty-four monasteries; he also placed the more ancient monastic orders under the superintendence of the bishops, and finally published an edict of toleration, by which the free exercise of religion was granted to all,* except to the Deists, (who believed in one God according to rational ideas, not according to revelation,) whom he condemned to receive five-and-twenty strokes, the number sacred to the Austrian bastinado. He also emancipated the Jews. The German hymns of the ex-Jesuit, Denis, were introduced into the Catholic churches. Hieronymus, archbishop of Salzburg, and the bishops of Laibach and Königsgrætz supported the emperor; but Cardinal Migazzi,† archbishop of Vienna, and Cardinal Bathyany, archbishop of Gran, ranged themselves beneath the papal banner. Pius VI., terrified at these numerous innovations, crossed the Alps in person to Vienna, A. D. 1782, for the purpose of moderating the emperor's zeal. His path was lined with thousands, who

* In the Styrian mountains, whole villages suddenly confessed the Lutheran faith they had for a century past professed in secret. In 1793, there were no fewer than twenty-two thousand Protestants in Carinthia. Many of the communes at first suspected the edict of toleration of being another crafty method of insnaring them, by encouraging them to confess their real faith for the purpose of destroying them, and it was not without difficulty that they became convinced of the emperor's sincerity. —*Travels into the Interior of Germany.* 1798.

† Joseph's want of tact was never more truly displayed than in his treatment of Migazzi. The Jansenist priest, Blaarer, of Brünn, becoming an object of his persecution, Joseph summoned Blaarer to Vienna and made him superintendent of the seminary of priests, a post hitherto held by Migazzi. On the arrival of the pope at Vienna, Migazzi was compelled to quit the city and to pay 2700 florins to a house of correction for having carried on an illegal correspondence with him.

on their knees received his blessing. He was, nevertheless, rendered bitterly sensible of the inopportunity of his visit by the emperor and by Kaunitz. The emperor did not honour the great mass performed by him with his presence. No one was allowed to speak with him without special permission from the emperor, and, in order to guard against secret visits, every entrance to his dwelling was walled up, with the exception of one which was closely watched. Whenever the pope attempted to discuss business matters with the emperor, the latter declared that he understood nothing about them, must first consult his council, and requested that the affair might be conducted in writing. Kaunitz, instead of kissing the hand extended to him by the pope, shook it heartily; he also neglected to visit him, and, on the pope's paying him a visit under pretext of seeing his pictures, received him in a light robe-de-chambre. The pope, after spending four weeks without effecting any thing, at length found himself constrained to depart. The emperor accompanied him as far as Mariabronn, and two hours afterwards ordered that monastery to be closed in order to show how little the pope had influenced him. The people and the clergy were, however, dazzled by the appearance of the holy father, and Joseph, fearful of irritating them too greatly, in reality put a transient stop to his reforms. The pope passed through Munich, where he was received with every demonstration of respect by Charles Theodore, and by Augsburg * through the Tyrol, where a monument on the high road near Innsbrück tells to this day of the enthusiasm with which his presence inspired the mountaineers. On his return to Rome, A. D. 1783, he was reproached for having made so many concessions, and was persuaded to refuse his recognition of the archbishop of Milan nominated by Joseph. The emperor was, in return, unsparing of his threats, and unexpectedly appeared at Rome in person, A. D. 1783. The archbishop of Milan was confirmed in his dignity, and the Roman populace evinced the greatest enthusiasm for Joseph, in whose honour the cry, "Evviva nostro imperatore!" continually resounded in the streets. The pope, nevertheless,

* He wrote triumphantly to the cardinals, that he had dispensed his blessing to countless thousands from the windows of the same house whence *teterrima illa Augustana confessio* had been first proclaimed. —*Acta Hist. Eccl. nostri Temp.*

recovered from his terror, and created a new nunciature for Munich as a bulwark of the hierarchy in Germany, upon which Joseph deprived the nuncios of all the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, which had bestowed upon the provincial bishops, more particularly upon those of Germany, whom he sought by these means to place in opposition to the bishop of Rome. In effect, Mayence, Treves, Cologne, and Salzburg held a congress, A. D. 1785, at the bath of Ems, and declared in favour of the emperor's principles. Frederick II., (Prussia and the ex-Jesuits were at that time in close alliance,) however, encouraged the pope, through his agent, Ciofani, at Rome, to make a vigorous opposition. John Müller, the Swiss historian, also turned his cheaply-bribed pen against the reforms attempted by Joseph, whom he libels as a despot, and whose good intentions he cunningly veils. The most violent opposition was that raised in Austria. In the more distant provinces, the clergy accused him of attempting the overthrow of Christianity. In Lemberg, a monk plotted against his life: Joseph had him imprisoned in a mad-house. In Innsbruch, a popular disturbance took place on account of an alteration being made in one of the church altars, the priests having spread a report of the emperor's intention to destroy all altars. At Villach, a figure, intended to represent Dr. Luther, was carried about on a wheelbarrow and cast into the Danube. In several places, the Protestants were ill-treated. Freedom of the press being granted by Joseph, the most violent and abusive charges against him were published by the clergy and publicly sold by Wucherer, the Viennese bookseller, who made a large profit by them. Joseph's enemies were, however, less injurious to him than his false friends, who incessantly loaded him with praise and spread the most unchristian, atheistical, and immoral ideas; Blumauer, for instance, who wrote in imitation of Voltaire, and whose impudent and shallow works found a great sale. In many places, this party ventured to treat church ceremonies with open ridicule, and Joseph was repeatedly compelled to protest against the misinterpretation of the edict of toleration and the unbounded licence, by which means, as Dohm well observes, he was no longer beheld with awe by the one party or with confidence by the other.

Notwithstanding the congress of Ems, he was opposed not only by the Austrian clergy, but also by that of the empire,

on which he had, moreover, made a violent attack, by separating all the portions of the bishoprics of Passau, Chur, Constance, and Liege, lying within his hereditary states, and placing them within the jurisdiction of the bishopries within his territories. Olmütz was erected into an archbishopric; Brünn was formed into a new diocese.

Joseph's reforms extended to the state as well as to the church, and every where met with the same opposition. His attempt to give unity to the state, to establish uniform laws and an uniform administration,* was contravened by the diverse nationalities and by the difference in the state of civilization of the various nations beneath his rule. His attempt to confer the boon of liberty on the lower class, to humble the unrestricted power of the nobility, to establish equality before the law and an equal taxation, was opposed not only by the hitherto privileged classes, but also by the peasantry, who either ignorantly misunderstood his intention, or were purposely misled in order to check the progress of his reforms by excesses, as was, for instance, the case among the Wallachian population of Transylvania, where a certain Horja, who gave himself out for a plenipotentiary of the emperor, excited the peasantry to revolt against the nobility, assassinated one hundred and twenty nobles, destroyed two hundred and sixty-four castles, and the emperor was finally compelled to put him down by force. He and his colleague Kloczka were condemned to the wheel, and two thousand of the Wallachian prisoners were compelled to behold their execution; one hundred and fifty were, according to the custom of their country, impaled alive. And yet Joseph's clemency had been so great as to inspire him with a desire to abolish the punishment of death. Thus did his subjects deceive his belief in their capability for improvement. The nobility were rendered his mortal enemies by the condemnation of Colonel Szekuly to exposure in the pillory for swindling, and by that of Prince Podstatsky-Lichtenstein, for forging bank-notes, to sweep the public streets. Among other offences against the nobility was that of throwing open to the public the great Prater, which had hitherto been the exclu-

* He simplified it first of all in Vienna, by the abolition of the abuses introduced by the multiplicity of writing in all the public and government offices. In Moser's Patriot. Archiv. the Viennese snail's pace before the time of Joseph II. is fully described; a petition or an account had to pass, in the course of being copied, registered, answered, signed, etc., through no fewer than eighty-five hands.

sive resort of the court and nobility. The higher nobility, protesting against this innovation, received the following characteristic reply from the emperor: "Were I only to associate with my equals, I should be compelled to descend into my family vault and to spend my days amid the dust of my ancestors." The nobility was also deeply wounded by the law empowering natural children to inherit the property of their unmarried fathers, which had been established by Joseph as a protection to the daughters of the citizens against their seductive artifices. He also ennobled a number of meritorious citizens and even created Fries, the manufacturer, who had greatly distinguished himself by his commercial enterprise and patriotism, count.

In 1785, he was, for a third time, led by his fixed idea for the extension of his domains, so little consistent with his character, so noted for humanity in all other respects, to renew negotiations with Charles Theodore for the possession of Bavaria. A German confederacy, set on foot by Frederick II., however, set a limit to his pretensions; and, in his displeasure at this frustration of his plans, he was induced by the intriguing Russian empress to join her in the conquest of the East. A personal interview took place between the two powers at Cherson.* The partition of Turkey, like that of Poland, formed the subject of their deliberations. A diversion made to their rear by Gustavus III. of Sweden, however, compelled Catherine to recall the greater portion of her troops. Russia, since the days of Peter the Great, had been a field of speculation for Germans, who, to the extreme detriment of their native country, increased the power of Russia by filling the highest civil and military posts. A Prince Charles of Nassau-Siegen, who served at this period as Russian admiral, was shamefully defeated by the Swedes, lost fifty-five ships and twelve thousand men, and was forced to fly for his life in a little boat. The Turkish campaign was, owing to these disadvantageous circumstances, far from brilliant. The Russians merely took Oczakow by storm and fixed them-

* He had, in 1780, visited her at St. Petersburg and had treated her so flatteringly, that, on his offering to kiss her hand, she threw her arms round his neck. She travelled in the same carriage with him to Smolensk. Her coachman boasted, on this occasion, of driving two powers, for whom the whole universe was not wide enough, in such a narrow space.

selves, as the Austrians should have done in their stead, close to the mouths of the Danube. Joseph was even less successful. The extreme heat of the summer of 1788 produced a pestilence, which carried off thirty-three thousand Austrians. The bad inclination generated among the lower class by the nobility and clergy had crept into the army. At Caransebes, the troops were seized with a sudden panic and took to flight, carrying the emperor along with them, without an enemy being in sight. The Turks, commanded by French officers, were several times victorious. Sick and chagrined, the emperor returned to Vienna, and it was not until the ensuing year that the honour of the imperial arms was restored by Laudon, (who had fallen into neglect,) aided by the Duke of Coburg and General Clairfait. He retook Belgrade, but his further progress was checked by the negotiation of peace. Hungary was in a state of disturbance, the Netherlands in revolt, the emperor ill, and peace with foreign powers indispensable.

The nobility and clergy triumphed, and hunted the unfortunate emperor, who had returned from the Turkish campaign suffering from an illness from which he never recovered, completely to death. Irritated by their opposition and by their strong position in the Hungarian diet, he dissolved that assembly, carried the sacred crown of Hungary to Vienna, abolished all the privileges of that country, and placed the Magyars on a level with his German subjects. The people were too dull of comprehension to perceive the advantage they thereby gained or were deceived by the nobility and clergy, who described the emperor as a heretic and declaimed against the violation of popular rights whilst skilfully concealing the interests of their order beneath the mask of the national pride of Hungary. The chief points most sturdily opposed by the nobility were the liability, hitherto unknown, of their order to taxation and the alleviation of the burthens borne by the *misera contribuens plebs*, as the Hungarian serfs were officially termed.

The Netherlands were in a still more violent state of fermentation. Joseph, confiding in his alliance with France, which he had, at an earlier period, visited * for the purpose of

* The extreme splendour of the French court struck him with astonishment and he earnestly warned his sister of the result. His simple attire as, under the incognito of Count Falkenstein, he visited the public

seeing his sister Marie Antoinette, compelled the Dutch [A. D. 1781] to annul the barrier-treaty and to withdraw their garrisons from the fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands. The occupation of the fortresses of a powerful emperor by the Dutch, who, moreover, kept them in a bad state of repair, was certainly wholly unfitting, but they were equally neglected by Joseph, who caused almost the whole of them to be razed to the ground as no longer necessary for the defence of the frontier against France. He then demanded from Holland the opening of the Scheldt. His demand was by no means unjust; by what right do the Dutch close the mouths of the rivers of Germany? Joseph, however, contented himself with threats and with sending down the river two ships, upon which the Dutch fired.* War was, nevertheless, averted by a gift of

buildings, etc. and mingled with the people, attracted universal admiration. He was praised at the expense of his corpulent and thick-headed brother-in-law, Louis XVI.:

A nos yeux étonnés de sa simplicité
Falkenstein a montré la majesté sans faste.
Chez nous, par un honteux contraste
Qu' a-t-il trouvé? du faste sans majesté.

Joseph visited several distinguished men during his stay in Paris, among others, Buffon, the great naturalist, to whom he said, "I beg you will give me the copy of your work forgotten by my brother." His brother, Maximilian of Cologne, had rudely refused a copy offered to him by Buffon, with the remark, "I will not rob you of it." The emperor also mounted to Rousseau's wretched garret, where he found him occupied in copying notes, for he was no longer the lion of the day. On his return to his dominions, he neglected, when at Geneva, to visit Voltaire, whose immorality he detested. The philosopher was mortally wounded by this proof of disrespect. Joseph, on the other hand, did not fail to honour Albert von Haller, the eminent poet and physician, with a visit on his route through Berne. Van Erlach, the high-born mayor of Berne, also awaited his arrival in his castle with planted cannon and a great display of magnificence, and had himself announced under the title of Count; Joseph, however, merely sent him his verbal excuses, "that he was too dusty from travelling to visit such a fine gentleman." A good lesson for the republicans!

* Kaunitz had vainly attempted to dissuade the emperor from this scheme and had always said, "They will fire upon them," which Joseph refused to believe. The event had no sooner answered Kaunitz's expectation than he informed the emperor of the fact in a laconic note, merely containing the words "They *have* fired." This oft-related anecdote is not so much to the point as the information given by Sinclair, (the first political economist, who visited the emperor in 1786,) concerning Joseph's displeasure against England. The English, offended at the impolitic

9,000,000 florins from the Dutch to the emperor, whose conduct on this occasion was construed as a sign of weakness by the Austrian Netherlands, where the powerful and influential clergy seized every opportunity to raise enemies against him. When, in 1786, Joseph abolished the ecclesiastical schools as dens of the grossest darkness and ordered a great universal seminary for fifteen hundred scholars to be founded on entirely modern principles, a popular tumult, which was only put down by the military, ensued. The fermentation, however, continued. During the war with Turkey, Joseph allowed the affairs in the Netherlands to take their own course, but, in 1789, commenced acting with great energy, and General d'Alton was compelled to have recourse to force and to dissolve the Estates. The civil governor, Count Trautmannsdorf, a man of great weakness of character, in the hope of winning over the people by kindness, relaxed the reins of government, rendered it contemptible, and frustrated every measure taken by d'Alton. The opposition instantly regained courage. Van der Noot, a lawyer of deep cunning, had, during his secret visits to the Hague and to Berlin, secured the aid of Holland and Prussia, the latter of which sent General Schönfeld to take the command of the insurgents. Cardinal Frankenberg, archbishop of Mechlin, a stately political puppet, was placed at the head of the new government constituted at Breda, and the officers and young men, who were already infected with republicanism, were called to arms. D'Alton, unable to maintain Brussels, laid down the command. Ghent was taken by stratagem. The insurgents, disguising themselves in the uniforms belonging to an Austrian regiment which had been dispersed and partly taken prisoner, marched to Ghent, were allowed to enter by the deceived garrison, and took the city. The Austrians under General Bender alone retained possession of Luxemburg. On the 11th January, 1790, the whole of the Netherlands, under the name of "United Belgium," declared itself independent. A dispute, however, arose among the victors. The hierarchical faction, to which Van der Noot belonged, attacked the weaker democratical party, the Vonckists, so called from its principal leader, Vonck, which had

alliance between Austria and France, were unsparing in their attacks upon the emperor both in parliament and by the press, and undeniably encouraged the Dutch to fire upon the imperial ships.

countenanced the insurrection in the hope of the establishment of a republic; they were, moreover, followers of the modern French philosophers and the avowed enemies of the priesthood. Their houses were plundered; their general, Mersch, a devoted partisan of the democratical cause, was divested of the command; several persons were cruelly murdered; one, for instance, who mocked a procession, had his head sawn off.* Joseph's unpopularity in the Netherlands was chiefly occasioned by his offer to cede them to Bavaria. How could his zeal for the welfare of his subjects find credence when he attempted to sell them to another sovereign?

About the same time, the Hungarian nobility took up such a threatening attitude and found means to rouse the people to such a pitch of excitement, that Joseph was compelled to revoke the whole of his ordinances for the welfare of Hungary. On hearing that even the peasantry, on whom he had attempted to bestow such immense benefits, had risen against him, he exclaimed, "I shall die, I must be made of wood if this does not kill me!" and three weeks afterwards he expired, after revoking his most important reforms for the sake of avoiding the necessity of having recourse to extreme measures. He died at Vienna on the 20th February, 1790, as Jellenz observed, "a century too early," and as Remer said, "mistaken by a people unworthy of such a sovereign."

Joseph II. (*der Andre*) was handsome in his person; his eyes were blue and expressive, hence the saying "Imperial blue," in order to denote that colour in the eye. Frederick the Great thus spoke of him in a letter to Voltaire, "Educated amid bigotry, he is free from superstition; habituated to pomp, his habits are simple; grown up amidst flattery, he is still modest."

His bronze statue at Vienna bears the following just inscription: "Josepho Secundo, qui saluti publicæ vixit non diu sed totus." Shortly before his death, he wrote, "Although there have formerly been Neros and a Dionysius, although there have been tyrants who abused the power delivered to them

* In the insurgent army, a capuchin was to be seen wearing a high black cap to which an enormous cockade was attached; in his hands he carried a sabre and a crucifix; in his yellow girdle, pistols, a knife and a rosary; his gown was sewn up between his legs, which were stuck bare into short boots.

by fate, is it on that account just, under pretence of guarding a nation's rights for the future, to place every imaginable obstacle in the way of a prince, the measures of whose government solely aim at the welfare of his subjects? I know my own heart; I am convinced of the sincerity of my intentions, of the uprightness of my motives, and I trust, that when I shall no longer exist, posterity will judge more justly and more impartially of my exertions for the welfare of my people."

His brother and successor, Leopold III., whose government of Tuscany offered a model to princes, made every concession to the nobility and clergy, in order to conciliate his subjects, and restored the ancient régime throughout Austria. The whole of the monasteries were not, however, reopened; in Bohemia, bondage was not reinforced; and the Lutherans and Reformers were also tolerated. All the other privileges of the nobility and clergy were restored. Tuscany fell to Ferdinand, Leopold's second son. The Dutch were granted an amnesty and the full enjoyment of their ancient privileges, but they had already become habituated to the independence they had asserted and refused to submit. General Schönfeld, the leader placed at the head of the insurgents by Prussia, at first maintained a haughty demeanour, but, on the reconciliation of Austria with Prussia at the congress of Reichenbach, he appears to have acted under contrary orders and to have made use of his position to ruin the cause he pretended to uphold. Avoiding an engagement, he marched up and down the country until the imperialists were reinforced, when he retreated and threw up the command. General Köhler, who was appointed to replace him, fled to Brussels, where his troops, assisted by the populace, stormed the house of assembly, plundered the arsenal and magazines and decamped, leaving the Austrians to enter the country unopposed.

CCXXXIX. *Frederick William the Second.*

"Old Fritz," as the Prussians named their great monarch, had expired, A. D. 1786. He retained his faculties to the last; his eccentricities had, however, increased, and, in his contempt for the whole human race, he expressed a wish to be buried among his favourite greyhounds.

His nephew, Frederick William II., was an additional proof

of the little resemblance existing between the different monarchs of Prussia. He left the machine of government, arranged by his uncle, unaltered, but intrusted its management to weak and incompetent ministers, who encouraged his fondness for the sex, his inclination to bigotry, and his belief in apparitions. Frederick's faithful servant, Herzberg, the aged minister, was removed from office and replaced by Wöllner, a wretched charlatan, who strengthened the king's belief in ghosts by means of optical glasses; by General Bischofswerder, a priestly slave, who opposed toleration; by Luchesini and Lombard, weak diplomatists, who unnerved the policy of Prussia by their want of decision, their impolitic want of faith; and by the two mistresses of the king, Madame Rietz, created Countess Lichtenau, and the Fräulein von Voss, created Countess Ingenheim. These favourites were utterly devoid of talent and merely rendered the business of state a mass of inextricable confusion. Documents and letters of the utmost importance lay carelessly scattered over the royal apartments, to which women, pages, sycophants of every description had free ingress. The highest offices of state were bestowed by favour; the royal treasury, containing seventy millions, was so lavishly scattered as to be speedily replaced by an equal amount of debt. The order of merit, with which Frederick had decorated merely seventy of the heroes of the seven years' war, was now showered indifferently upon the lounging courtiers. The crown lands, the object of the late king's care, were given away or made use of as a means of ennobling a number of most unworthy personages. Complaisant lacqueys, chambermaids' favourites, expert rogues, ready to lend their services on all occasions, were placed on an equality with the ancient nobility. These newly-dubbed nobles were mockingly termed the freshly-baked or the six-and-eighty. Mirabeau, who was at that time French agent at Berlin, wrote the following laconic account of the new Prussian court: "A decreased revenue, an increased expenditure, genius neglected, fools at the helm. Never was a government nearer ruin. I am returning to Paris, for I will no longer be condemned to act the part of a beast and crawl through the dirty, crooked paths of a government which daily gives fresh proof of its ignorance and servility."

The king, notwithstanding these defects, was not devoid of

military ambition, and an opportunity for its display was not long wanting. Like Joseph, he was tempted to the attack by the weakness of Holland. William IV., the first hereditary stadtholder, expired A. D. 1751. Louis Ernest, duke of Brunswick, whose pride rendered him highly unpopular, reigned for some time in the name of the youthful heir, William V. The ancient spirit of the people had insensibly decayed. The great wealth of the inhabitants had engendered habits of luxury. In the East Indian colonies, the governor, Valckenier, gained an evil fame by the cold-blooded murder of twelve thousand Chinese, who had ventured to complain of his tyrannical conduct. On the conquest of Bengal [A. D. 1757] by the English, the expulsion of the Dutch from the Indian continent was planned, but the first outbreak of the war was occasioned in 1780, by the public sale in Holland of English ships captured by North American privateers. A small Dutch fleet and a number of Dutch merchantmen were seized by the English. The weakness of the navy was, with great justice, laid to the charge of the duke of Brunswick, who had neglected it in order to set the army on a better footing, and he was compelled to resign his authority. The Dutch, nevertheless, twice succeeded in repulsing the English fleet on the Doggersbank and on its way to the Sound; but they suffered terrible losses in the colonies. They were also abandoned by France and Russia, the chief authors of the war, and were finally compelled, by the peace of Versailles [A. D. 1783], to cede Negapatnam, their principal settlement on the Indian continent, several African colonies, and even their ancient maritime privilege, which protected the cargo beneath their flag. This ill-starred peace increased the unpopularity of the hereditary stadtholder, who was completely ruled by the duke of Brunswick. His open attempts to usurp monarchical power, in which he was encouraged by his consort, Wilhelmina, the sister of Frederick William II., by Count Gœrtz, the Prussian ambassador, and by Harris, the malicious English envoy, added to the popular exasperation, and the storm, which the French had also greatly fomented, at length burst forth.* On

* Sinclair, the celebrated Scotch political economist, who was at that time travelling through Holland, expressed himself strongly against the intrigues of France. Dutchmen were bribed with money previously borrowed from their countrymen; the house of the French ambassador was

the 4th of September, 1786, Gyzelaar of Dordrecht declared in the states-general that all the evil that had befallen the republic took its rise in the bosom of the first servant of the state, the hereditary stadtholder. These words were a signal for revolt. The armed burgher guard dissolved the councils, all of which favoured the house of Orange, at Utrecht, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, etc. The province of Holland first declared the deposition of the stadtholder, who took refuge in the fortress of Nimwegen and supplicated aid from Prussia. Frederick William hesitated and was at first unwilling to have recourse to violence, upon which Wilhelmina, the consort of the stadtholder, quitted Nimwegen, and, as Gœrtz in his Memoirs says, "took the bold but well-planned step" of returning to Holland solely for the purpose of allowing herself to be insulted by the rebels in order to rouse the vengeance of her brother. The Princess was, in fact, stopped on the frontier and treated with little reverence by the citizen soldiery ;* she was, however, restored to liberty. This insult offered to a Prussian princess decided the king, and he sent Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, (the same who had distinguished himself when hereditary prince in the seven years' war, and again in 1778, by his gallantry in the camp of Troppau, and who now held the appointment of generalissimo of the Prussian forces,) with an army into Holland, which he speedily, and almost without opposition, reduced to submission. Count Salm, who had been charged with the defence of Utrecht, secretly withdrew. The reaction was complete, and [A. D. 1787] all the patriots or anti-Orangemen were deprived of their offices.

Prussia was, in her foreign policy, peculiarly inimical to Joseph II. Besides supporting the Dutch insurgents, she instigated the Hungarians to rebellion and even concluded an alliance with Turkey, which compelled Joseph's successor, the emperor Leopold, by the peace of Szistowa, A. D. 1791, to restore Belgrade to the Porte.——The revolt of the people of Liege, A. D. 1789, against their bishop, Constantine Francis, also gave Prussia an opportunity to throw a garrison into that

a temple of Venus, to whom virtue was sacrificed; abusive and immoral pamphlets found a large sale.—*Sinclair's Life.*

* The officer, by whom she had been arrested, refused to quit her room and regaled himself with beer and tobacco in her presence.—*Jacobi, History of the Disturbances in the Netherlands.*

city under pretext of aiding the really oppressed citizens, but, in reality, on account of the inclination of the bishop to favour Austria. When, not long after this, Prussia united with Austria against France, the restoration of the bishop was quietly tolerated.

Frederick William II., although misled by Wöllner and Bischofswerder to publish [A. D. 1788] edicts* of censure and religious ordonnances contrary to the spirit of the times and threatening to impede the progress of enlightenment, abstained from enforcing them, and the French philosophy, patronized by Frederick II., continued to predominate under the auspices of the Duke of Brunswick, the grand-master of the masonic lodges in Germany.

The secret society of freemasons had in the commencement of this century spread from England over Germany and greatly promoted the progress of civilization. In England, the ancient corporation of stone-masons had insensibly been converted into a loyal club, which no longer practised architecture, but retained its symbols and elected a prince of the blood-royal as its president. After the execution of Charles I., Ramsey, preceptor to the children of Charles II., during his exile made use of the Scottish masons in order to pave the way for the restoration of the Stuarts. Hiram, the builder of the temple of Solomon, under whose mystical name the Saviour, the builder of the Christian church, was generally understood, was now supposed to represent Charles I., and was honoured as the "murdered master." The Jesuits played a principal part in this Scottish masonry and transferred much that was jesuitical to masonry (freemasonry or the royal art). On the second fall of the Stuarts, the new Hanoverian dynasty established an English Protestant lodge in opposition to that of Scotland and gave it, as its principal symbol, the letter G (George) in a sun. Freemasonry now rapidly spread among the Protestants, gained a footing, in 1733, in Hamburg, in 1740, in Berlin, and ere long became

* In Berlin, Schulz, known as the pigtail minister, was deprived of his office for venturing to exchange the stately ecclesiastical peruke for a fashionable queue and for preaching Rationalism instead of Christianity. The edicts were brutal in their denunciations, nor was the horror they inspired diminished by the knowledge that the religious and moral regulations contained in them proceeded from the lacqueys of a Lichtenau.

the centre of civilization in its nobler and moral sense. Frederick II. favoured the society and became a member. The aim of this society was the erection of the invisible temple of humanity, and its allegorical symbols, the trowel, the square, the leather apron, were borrowed from the tools used in common masonry. The object, promised but never attained by the church, the conferment of happiness on the human race by the practice of virtue and by fraternity, by the demolition of all the barriers that had hitherto separated nations, classes, and sects, was that for which this society laboured. In Germany, freemasonry had ever a moral purpose. It was only in France that it became matter for speculation and vanity, and it was merely owing to the rage for imitating every French folly that French freemasonry, with its theatrical terrors, its higher degrees sold to the credulous for solid gold, and its new rites of the self-denominated Templars,* intended as a bait to the nobility, gained a footing in Germany. Adventurers of every description practised upon the credulity of the rich and noble and defrauded them of their gold. The Sicilian, Cagliostro, was the prince of impostors.

The society of freemasons was prohibited by the Catholic states of Southern Germany, where another secret society of a far more dangerous character was, however, formed. In the Protestant countries, the advance of civilization had been gradual, the seed had slowly ripened in the fostering bosom of futurity. But, in Bavaria, but one step was made from the ridiculous stories of Father Kochem to the infidelity of Voltaire, and the rising generation, emancipating itself from the yoke of the Jesuits, instantly fell into the opposite extreme and attempted to annihilate by force not merely the church but every positive religion. It was in this spirit that Professor Weishaupt founded, at Ingolstadt, [A. D. 1776,] the order of the Illuminati, to which he gave the old Jesuitical constitution, that is, the initiated took the oath of unconditional obedience to their secret superiors. This fanatical conspiracy against religion no sooner became known to the numerous free-thinkers of Northern Germany than they sedulously endeavoured to enter into connexion with it, and, by the intervention of the notorious

* Freemasonry was alleged to have been first practised by the ancient Templars.

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Baron von Knigge, a Hanoverian adventurer noted for talent and depravity, the Illuminati became connected with the freemasons, and, by means of Nicolai, the Berlin bookseller, the editor of the Universal German Library, they had a public organ at once bold and wary. The Illuminati were, notwithstanding, decidedly antipathetical to the great majority of freemasons in Northern Germany. Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, in his quality as grand-master, convoked all the German freemasons to a great congress at Wilhelmsbad near Hanau, A. D. 1782, by which the contradictions that had hitherto appeared in eclectic freemasonry, as it was termed, were as far as possible removed. In the ensuing year, the great lodge of the Three Globes at Berlin discovered far greater energy by declaring every person, who attempted to degrade freemasonry to a society inimical to Christianity, incapable of becoming or of remaining a member. The society of the Illuminati in Bavaria was, two years later, discovered and strictly persecuted, A. D. 1785. Weishaupt fled to Gotha, where he was protected by the duke, Louis Ernest. Some of the members were imprisoned, deprived of their offices, etc. This also served as a lesson to the freemasons, who were thoroughly reformed by the celebrated actor, Schrœder, in Hamburg, and Felzler, formerly a capuchin, in Berlin, by on the one hand checking the inclination to irreligion, on the other, by banishing display and superstition and by restoring the ancient simple English system, in a word, by regermanizing gallicized freemasonry.

The society of the Illuminaii continued, meanwhile, to exist under the name of the German Union, and, as a proof of its power, the innumerable satires published against Zimmermann in Hanover on his raising its mask, may be adduced. In Mayence, the coadjutor of the archbishopric, von Dalberg, had established an academy, which rivalled those of the Protestants. Here dwelt Forster, the celebrated discoverer, the witty Heinse, John Müller, the Swiss historian, etc., and it was here that Illuminatism took refuge; Dalberg himself took the oaths and entered the society under the name of Crescens. Weishaupt was named Spartacus; Knigge, Philo; Louis Ernest, duke of Gotha, Timoleon; Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, who had refused entirely to renounce his connexion with the Illuminati, Aaron; von dem Busche, Bayard; Bode, Amelius; Nicolai, Lucian, etc.——The society was, however, first essentially

raised in importance by its connexion with Mirabeau, the talented but unprincipled French agent at Berlin and Brunswick; and Bode, a privy-councillor of the duke of Weimar, Weishaupt's successor, and von dem Busche visited Paris "for the purpose of illuminating France." Philip, duke of Orleans, at that time grand-master of the French lodges, received them with open arms. Their path had already been long smoothed by another German, von Hollbach, a wealthy nobleman of the Pfalz, who had formed a secret society, of which Voltaire was the honorary president and Diderot the most active member, and who dissipated his wealth in order to inundate the world with licentious and atheistical works. He was the author of that scandalous work, "Le Système de la Nature." The deadly hatred with which Philip of Orleans viewed the French king, whose throne he coveted, the condemnation of the revolutionary principles of the secret societies by Frederick the Great and still more strongly by Frederick William II., and, finally, the deep resentment of the Illuminati on account of their persecution in Bavaria, caused the society to rest its hopes on popular agitation, and, aided by French freemasonry, it spread the ideas of the liberty and equality of mankind, of the establishment of an universal republic, of the fall of royalty, and of the abolition of Christianity. The favourite saying of the Illuminati was, "The last king ought to be hanged with the entrails of the last priest." These ideas, unable to take root in Germany, secretly spread and rankled throughout France, the native soil to which they had returned.

CCXL. *German influence in Scandinavia and Russia.*

Whilst Germany was thus a prey to French influence in her western provinces, her native influence had spread towards the east and north. Scandinavia had borrowed from her Lutheranism and fresh royal dynasties. The house of Oldenburg reigned over Sweden and Norway. Under Frederick V., the Hanoverian, John Hartwig Ernest, Count von Bernstorff, became prime minister, [A. D. 1750,] and bestowed great benefits upon the country. Denmark remained, nevertheless, faithful to her unneighbourly policy towards Germany, and took advantage of the confusion that universally prevailed during the seven years' war to extort a million from the citizens of

Hamburg. Frederick V. expired A. D. 1766. His son and successor, Christian VII., a being both mentally and physically degraded, the slave of low debauchery and folly, married Caroline Matilda, an English princess, to whose beauty and mental charms he, however, remained totally indifferent. In the hope that travelling might wean him from his gross pursuits, he was persuaded to make a tour through Europe. On the journey, his private physician, a young man named Struensee, the son of a clergyman of Halle in Saxony, succeeded in gaining his confidence. On the return of the king, whose manners had not been improved by his travels, Struensee inoculated the crown prince for the small-pox, and by that means placed himself on a more intimate footing with the queen, who constantly watched by the cradle of her child, and they formed a plan to place the king entirely beneath their influence and to govern in his name. The old ministers, and among them Bernstorff, were removed; the nobility lost their influence at court; Struensee became prime minister, and, in conjunction with his friend Brand, took upon himself the whole weight of the government. He concentrated the power of the state, effected the most beneficial reforms, more especially in the financial department, which was in a state of extreme disorder, and released Denmark from the shameful yoke hitherto imposed upon her by the arbitrary Russian ambassador, Philosophow. Russia was not slow in plotting the ruin of the bold German, who had thus ventured to withdraw Denmark from her influence. Juliana, the queen-dowager, and her son, Frederick, step-brother to the reigning monarch, were easily gained. The banished councillors, the neglected Danish nobility, and even the officers of the guard aided in the machinations devised against the queen and Struensee. Struensee, rendered incautious by success, treated the queen with too great familiarity in public, published mandates of the highest importance without the king's signature, and offended the guard by attempting to disband them. The irritated soldiery mutinied; blood was shed, and Struensee gave proof of his weakness by yielding and retaining the guard around the king's person. This success increased the audacity of the conspirators; after a splendid court ball, in the January of 1772, Colonel Köller threw his regiment into the palace, and, on the following morning, astonished Copenhagen learnt that a great change

in the government had taken place; the king, terrified at the threats of the conspirators, had signed a warrant for the arrest of the queen, Struensee, and Brand, and had been placed in honourable imprisonment under the care of his step-brother, who governed in his name. The queen, Caroline Matilda, was dragged from her bed, and, notwithstanding her violent struggles, (she is said to have thrown down the officer who seized her,) was thrown into prison. Struensee met with similar treatment. He was told that by a confession of having carried on an improper intercourse with the queen he could alone save his life. The queen's enemies required this confession in order to proceed against her. Struensee is said to have been induced through fear of death to make this shameful confession (it was perhaps forged). The queen was now told that the only means of saving Struensee's life was by a confession of adultery, which is said to have been drawn from her by her compassion for him. She is also said to have fainted when confessing her guilt. That an innocent woman would thus consent to her own dishonour is more than improbable, and the only inference to be drawn from the circumstance is, either that of her guilt or of the imposition of a false confession. Struensee was, in consequence of this confession and of the charge made against him of his former illegal assumption of authority, sentenced to be deprived of his right hand and of his head. Brand suffered the same punishment, A. D. 1772. The queen was separated from her husband and banished to Zelle, where, three years afterwards, she died of a broken heart, in her 24th year, asserting her innocence with her latest breath, A. D. 1775. The king remained, until 1784, under the guardianship of his step-brother, in a half idiotic state, and died at a great age, A. D. 1808. Frederick VI. was his son and successor. Peter Andrew, Bernstorff's nephew, succeeded in rising to the head of the government, in the conduct of which he displayed great talent and merit. He it was who first abolished feudal bondage in Denmark and the slave-trade in the colonies. The cession of Holstein to the Russian line of the house of Oldenburg took place immediately after the catastrophe of 1772.

In Sweden, on the extinction of the house of Wittelsbach in the person of Charles XII., and after the ensuing disputes for the succession, during which Frederick of Hesse for some

time wore the crown, Adolphus Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, a collateral branch of the house of Oldenburg, had mounted the throne, A. D. 1743. The government was, however, entirely in the hands of the nobility, by whom, on the death of Charles XII., the honour of Sweden had been already sold and the conquests had been ceded without a blow, and who, in pursuance of their own petty private interests, were split into a French and Russian faction, the former of which was denominated the Hats, the other the Caps. Gustavus III., Adolphus Frederick's youthful and high-spirited successor, by a sudden revolution put an end to this wretched aristocratic government and declared himself sole sovereign, A. D. 1771. His first step was the restoration of the ancient glory of Sweden by a declaration of war with Russia for the rule of the Baltic. The war had been carried on at sea with various fortune since 1788, when, in 1792, the king was shot at a masked ball at Stockholm by one Ankarström, an accomplice of the nobility, who aided him by surrounding the person of their victim. His brother, Charles, duke of Südermania, undertook the government during the minority of his nephew, Gustavus Adolphus IV.* Germany exercised no control over Sweden, which still retained possession of Rügen and Upper Pomerania. Her influence extended far more widely over Russia, where Peter the Great had given his new metropolis, Petersburg, a German name, and whither he had invited great numbers of Germans for the purpose of teaching his wild subjects arts and sciences, military tactics, and navigation. A German, the celebrated girl of Marienburg, whom he raised to his bed and throne, became, on his death, in 1725, czarina and autocrat of all the Russias, under the name of Catherine I. She was succeeded by Peter II., the grandson of Peter the Great, the son of the unfortunate Alexis. Alexis was, like his father, subject to violent fits of fury, but was totally unendowed with his intellect. Peter, naturally fearing lest his reforms and regulations might, on his son's elevation to the throne, be choked in the bud, condemned him to lose his head for the good of his country. Alexis had married the Princess Charlotte Christina Sophia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, whose history might well form a subject for romance.

* The best account of this event is to be met with in Arndt's Swedish History. Leipzig, 1839.

Unable to endure his violence, she gave herself out for dead and secretly escaped to North America, where, on her husband's death, she married Lieutenant D'Auband, a man of great personal merit, with whom she returned to France, his native country, whence she accompanied him to the Mauritius or Isle de France, where he held an appointment. On his death, she returned to Paris, where she ended her adventurous life at a great age.

Peter II. owed his succession to the throne to the influence of the old Russian party among the nobility, particularly to that of Prince Dolgorouky, by whom the Germans were regarded with feelings of the deepest hostility. He expired A. D. 1730, and, with the consent of Anna and Elisabeth, the two surviving daughters of Peter the Great, one of his nieces was raised to the Russian throne. Ivan, the brother of Peter the Great, had left two daughters, Catherine, married to Charles, the unworthy duke of Mecklenburg, and Anna, married to the last of the Kettler family, Frederick William, duke of Courland.* Anna was, at this conjuncture, a widow, and the reigning duchess of Courland. She resided in great privacy at Mitau with her paramour, Ernest von Biron, the grandson of an ostler, whose wife she retained near her person as a cloak to their intercourse. The weakness of Anna's conduct had pointed her out as a proper tool to the old Russian faction, as a puppet in whose name they could reign. These expectations were, however, deceived; Anna, on mounting the throne, discovered the utmost energy and decision, intrusted the administration of the empire to Germans distinguished for talent and humbled the old Russian faction among the nobility. Biron, whom she created duke of Courland, was, it is true, a better lover than statesman, but she repaired that weakness by placing an intelligent theologian, Ostermann, a native of Mark, who had been compelled to flee his country on account of a duel, and who had been the instructor of her youth, at the head of diplomatic affairs, and Münnich, a nobleman from Oldenburg, who had fought at Malplaquet and had afterwards planned the great Ladoga canal at Petersburg, a man

* On the occasion of this wedding, Peter the Great had all the dwarfs in his immense empire collected. There were seventy-two of them. The two ugliest were compelled to marry, and the ceremony was performed amid the jokes and jeers of the assembled court.

remarkable for energy and activity, at the head of the army. Both these men followed in the footsteps of Peter the Great, snatched Russia from her ancient state of incivilization and developed her immeasurable power without regard for the injury they might thereby inflict upon their native country. Münnich, by the expulsion of Stanislaus Lescinsky, first rendered Poland dependent upon Russia. He also gained great victories over the Turks and Tartars and extended the southern frontier of Russia. An insurrection of the Russian nobility against his rule and that of Ostermann was powerfully and prudently quelled, and was punished by numerous executions and sentences of banishment.

The Russian nobility speedily revenged themselves on the death of Anna in 1740. Anna's sister, Catherine, duchess of Mecklenburg, left a daughter Anna, who married Antony Ulric, duke of Brunswick. Her son, Ivan, then two months old, was elected emperor and placed under the guardianship of Biron and of the German faction, but, in the following year, the Russians raised Elisabeth, the youngest daughter of Peter the Great, to the throne, banished all the Germans, Biron, Ostermann, Münnich, and even the unoffending duke, Antony Ulric, to Siberia, and allowed the youthful Ivan to pine to death in prison. Elisabeth, who inherited the coarseness without the virtues of her father, gave way to the most revolting excesses and placed the administration in the hands of the old Russian faction.* She was succeeded, A. D. 1762, by her nephew, Peter III., the son of her sister, Anna, and of Charles Frederick, duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Peter was a German both by birth and education and an enthusiastic admirer of Frederic the Great. The German exiles were instantly recalled from Siberia. During Biron's banishment, Charles of Saxony had been raised by Russian influence to the government of Courland. The favours showered by Peter upon the Germans, numbers of whom he invited into the country for the purpose of bestowing upon them the highest offices in the

* Among the soldiers of the guard, all of whom were her paramours, and to whose attachment she mainly owed her elevation to the throne, there were, however, two Germans, the musician, Schwartz, and the subaltern, Grundstein, whom she especially favoured. They were ennobled, raised to high rank and granted immense possessions, but were afterwards banished. A German valet, named Sievers, was also created count of the empire and supreme court marshal.

army and in the state, rendered him hateful to the Russian nobility. The despotic temper he had inherited from his grandfather and his contemptuous treatment of his consort, Catherine, Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst,* raised enemies around his person, and Catherine, an imperious and ambitious woman, placed herself at the head of the conspirators, took him prisoner and poisoned him, A. D. 1762.† She mounted the throne of Russia under the name of Catherine II., surrounded herself with Russian and German talent, and, in imitation of Frederick the Great, played the philosopher whilst enacting the despot. Her most celebrated ministers and generals were at the same time her lovers; still, notwithstanding her licentious manners, she had a highly cultivated mind (she corresponded by letter with the most distinguished savants and poets of Europe) and discovered equal energy and skill as a diplomatist. By the partition of Poland, by fresh conquests on the Turkish frontier, and by her encouragement of civilization in the interior of her unwieldy empire, she increased the power of Russia to an extraordinary degree, and for this purpose made use of a multitude of Germans, who unceasingly emigrated to Russia, there to seek their fortune. Among others, her cousin William Augustus, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, studied navigation on board the Russian fleet, but, falling from the mast-head, when sailing in the Baltic, was drowned, A. D. 1774. Noble German families from Esthonia and Courland took their place beside the ancient Russian nobility in all offices civil or military. German savants guided the internal civilization of the empire, her academies, her mines, that ever fruitful source of Russia's wealth. German intelligence was in every direction actively employed in moulding the rude natural powers of the country and of the people into a fearful weapon against Germany.

* An alliance had formerly been attempted to be formed between him and Amelia, the daughter of Frederick William I. of Prussia, but had been prevented by the declaration of that king, that he should deem himself dishonoured by her adoption of the Greek faith.

† She had borne him a son, whom he refused to acknowledge, and who first mounted the imperial throne as Paul I., on the death of his mother. He married [A. D. 1776] the Princess Dorothea Augusta Sophia of Würtemberg, who, on her marriage, was re-baptized by the Greek church, Maria Federowna. She became the mother of the emperors Alexander and Nicolas, of the grand-dukes Constantine and Michael, of Catherine, queen of Würtemberg, and of Anna, Princess of Orange.

The German element still continued to preponderate in the German provinces on the Baltic, Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, which, either at an earlier or at the present period, fell under Russian rule. The civil privileges of the cities, particularly those of Riga, solely underwent a change. The constitutions of the free towns ill accorded with the Russian mode of government and [A. D. 1785] were forcibly exchanged for the political and financial regulations of the governors. The nobility alone retained the whole of its ancient privileges, owing to the predominance of the aristocratic as well as that of the autocratic principle in Russia. A revolt of the Lettish peasantry, who had imagined that the new crown-tax, imposed upon them by the government, was intended to liberate them from their ancient obligations to the native German nobility, was suppressed by force, A. D. 1783. Even under the reign of the emperor Alexander, Baron Ungern-Sternberg, an Esthonian noble, followed the profession of the robber-knights of old, by means of false signals drew ships upon sandbanks and rocks, pillaged them, and murdered those of the crew who escaped drowning. He was at length captured and condemned to the mines.*

CCXLI. *The lesser German Courts.*

WHILST Austria and Prussia pursued a new political path under Joseph and Frederick, the courts of lesser importance persevered for the greater part in their ancient course or sought to heighten the luxury they had learnt from Louis XIV. by imitating the military splendour of Frederick II. The predilection of the Prussian monarch for the French language had, moreover, brought it, together with French manners and customs, into vogue at all the German courts and among the whole of the German nobility. Every young man of family was sent to Paris to finish his education, to be initiated into every description of vice, and to acquire *bon ton*, as it was termed, all of which they were assisted on their return in disseminating throughout Germany by French ambassadors, spies, teachers of French and dancing, hair-dressers, and governesses.† The use of the German language was considered

* Vide Petri, Pictures of Livonia and Esthonia, a rich source of information concerning those countries.

† The French governesses reproved their German pupils with, "fi, on

a mark of the lowest vulgarity. French alone was tolerated. And it was by this perverted, unpatriotic nobility that the weak princes were led still further astray and Germany was misgoverned.

Augustus III. and Brühl had, after the peace of Hubertsburg, returned to Saxony, where, unmoved by the sufferings of the people during the war, they continued their former luxurious habits. Their first business was a splendid representation of Thalestris, an opera composed by the Princess Maria Antonia. Augustus was succeeded [A. D. 1763] by Frederick Augustus, a prince morally well-disposed, whose sole noxious amusement was his passion for the chace, so detrimental to the peasantry. He was also devoid of the ambitious pretension of grasping at the crown of Poland. The court was, nevertheless, kept up from habit on its former extensive scale, whilst the diet merely served as a protection to the overdrawn privileges of the nobility.

Among the Saxon duchies, Weimar presented an honourable contrast with almost all the other petty states. The Duchess Amalia and her son, Charles Augustus, formed a court, like that of Hermann, the venerable Landgrave of Thuringia, an assemblage of *beaux esprits*. Here Wieland, Herder, Gœthe, Schiller, resided beneath the most liberal patronage ever granted to the children of song. Ernest, duke of Gotha, although also highly refined in his tastes, dwelt in greater seclusion. The dukes of Coburg and Hildburghausen were overwhelmed with debt.

In Bavaria, the emperor, Charles VII., left a debt of forty millions. Maximilian Joseph was, on the contrary, extremely economical, permitted Sterzinger to attack superstition, the Illuminati to spread enlightenment, and attempted to simplify the law by the introduction of Kreitmayr's new criminal code, which was, however, still too deeply imbued with blood. But, whilst Thürriegel, the Bavarian, transformed the Sierra Morena in Spain from a wilderness into a fertile province, the soil of Bavaria still lay partially unreclaimed. The bad government also recommenced under her next sovereign, Charles Theodore, who mounted the Bavarian throne, A. D. 1777. This prince had, at an earlier period, held a splendid court at Mannheim.

vous prendroit pour une Allemande," or said in their praise, "c'est un trésor que la Demoiselle. Elle ne fait pas un mot d'Allemand."

He established the first German theatre. French theatres and Italian operas had been hitherto solely patronized by the German courts. He also greatly enriched the picture gallery at Düsseldorf. His luxury was embellished by taste. He succeeded to Bavaria in his fifty-third year. In order to satisfy his predilection for the Rhine, he offered his new possession for sale to Austria, and, on finding himself compelled to retain it, transported his luxurious court from Mannheim to Munich. Rumford, an Englishman, embellished the latter city and was the inventor of the celebrated soup, named after him, for the poor, which had become indeed necessary, the misery of the people being considerably increased by the badness of the government. A Countess Törring-Seefeld was the favourite of the elector, who was, moreover, governed by his confessor, the ex-Jesuit, Frank, who also conducted the great persecution of the Illuminati. Appointments were shamefully sold; brutality and stupidity were the characteristics of the ruling powers; the oppression was terrible. The elector was compelled to undertake a petty campaign against a bold robber, the notorious Hiesel, one of those spirits called forth by tyrannical stupidity on the part of a government.——The Pfalzgrave Charles, of the collateral line of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, commonly resided on the Carlsberg near Zweibrücken, where he kept fifteen hundred horses, and a still greater number of dogs and cats, which required the attention of a numerous household. He collected upwards of a thousand pipe-heads and innumerable toys. Every passer-by was compelled to doff his hat on coming in sight of the Carlsberg; a foreigner, ignorant of the law, was, on one occasion, nearly beaten to death.

In Würtemberg, the duke, Charles Eugene, reigned from 1744, when he attained his majority, until 1793. He was, in many respects, extremely remarkable. Learned, and gifted with taste and talent, he was the slave of luxury and vice. He spent enormous sums on the army. He sought to unite Louis XV. and Frederick II. in his own person. Educated in the academy of Frederick the Great at Berlin, he was, on account of the excellency of his conduct, declared by that monarch fit to assume the reins of government, in his seventeenth year; but he had no sooner returned to Stuttgard than, with his friend Count Pappenheim, he committed the most boyish acts of folly, rousing the inhabitants with false cries of

alarm during the night, and throwing hoops over the heads of those who ventured to peep from their windows, etc. etc. Frederick II. had bestowed upon him the hand of his niece, Elisabeth Frederica Sophia of Bayreuth, notwithstanding which Charles embraced the imperial cause during the seven years' war, in order to bribe the empress and the imperial Aulic council to overlook the crimes committed by him against his country. He also, at that time, accepted enormous sums of money from France, trusting to whose support, he divorced his guiltless consort on a craftily laid charge of infidelity. A certain Rieger led him to expend immense sums on military show. The best artists of Rome and Paris, Jomelli, Noverre, Vestris, were in his salary. He built the Solitude, in which he placed a complete and separate establishment, with a church, etc., on a forest-grown mountain, and rendered the whole year a succession of fêtes, operas, ballets, grandes battues, etc. etc. Montmartin, the prime minister, a Frenchman, who treated the servile Germans with the scorn they so richly merited, extorted their money by the most barefaced exactions of every description, by taxes, by the sale of public offices, and was faithfully aided by Wittleder, a Thuringian, who had come into the country as a Prussian subaltern to give lessons in drilling, and had become director of the ecclesiastical council and enriched himself with plundering the property of the church. This wretch, who was authorized to sell all civil appointments, for which he was to receive 10 per cent., usually said to the applicant, "Give the duke 500 florins and me 1000!" In order to render this source of revenue still more lucrative, he created a number of new appointments and rendered affairs so uselessly complex that the Würtemberg system became henceforward a proverbial nuisance.

Würtemberg still possessed her ancient provincial diet, but its power was sadly crippled. A select committee had seized the whole control over the affairs of the state, which it administered in secret without rendering an account to the people. Montmartin's order to the provincial collectors, Hoffmann and Stäudlin, to deliver up to him the whole of their funds, first roused them to opposition. The duke, however, surrounded the house of assembly with his troops and seized the whole contents of the treasury, A. D. 1758. The author of the submissively couched protest of the diet, the provincial-counsel-

lor, John Jacob Moser, the best head and the honestest man in the country, was arrested, and pined unheard for five years in the fortress of Hohentviel. Montmartin declared to the Estates, "that the duke was far too lofty-minded ever to allow laws to be prescribed to him by people like them." He established a great lottery, A. D. 1762, compelled the people to purchase tickets and sent two hundred lots for sale to the diet, and, on its protesting against it, the drawing of the lottery was, in defiance, fixed to take place within the house of assembly. He finally projected an income-tax, which drew at least 15 kreutzers* annually from the most indigent among the population, and rose at an equal ratio. Hüber, the grand bailiff of Tübingen, protested against this imposition. A deputation of the citizens hastened into the duke's presence and represented to him the misery of the country. His only reply was the exclamation, "Country! what country? I am the country!" and an order for the instant march of several regiments into Tübingen. Hüber and the most respectable amongst the citizens were carried prisoners to the citadel, and the tax was levied by force. The Estates carried their complaint before the supreme court of judicature, and, owing to the energetic support granted to them by Frederick II., gained their cause. The duke was sentenced by the imperial Aulic council instantly to liberate Moser, to desist from every species of violence, and within the space of two months to enter into a constitutional agreement with the Estates. Moser was set at liberty.† The duke instantly took his revenge on the city of Stuttgart, which had sided with Tübingen, by migrating [A. D. 1764] with his whole court to Ludwigsburg, where he remained for several years, deceiving the Estates with mock promises whilst endeavouring, by means of Montmartin, whom he despatched for that purpose to Vienna, to give a more favourable turn to his cause. He was, however, finally compelled to obey the decision of the Aulic council. Montmartin and Wittleder were dismissed; the latter was, moreover, de-

* About 5 pence English money.—TRANSLATOR.

† Dann of Tübingen and other members of the diet having attempted to bring the committee of the Estates to account for its former secret and arbitrary proceedings, concerning which Moser had it in his power to give full information, the committee dreaded his liberation and would willingly have prevented it.

prived of a large sum of money; the theatrical corps was reduced to one half, and some other trifling modes of economy were resolved upon. The hereditary compact, as it was termed, was at length concluded, A. D. 1771; by it, the power of the duke was for the future to be restrained within constitutional limits; all the servants of the state were to be sworn on the constitution; the nomination of foreigners to public posts was to be avoided; the ancient mode of taxation and the church-property were to be restored; the army was to be diminished; several noxious monopolies and the lotteries were to be abolished; the game-laws to be restricted; and, on the other hand, the forests, which had been dreadfully thinned, to be spared. The duke, nevertheless, refused to accede to this compact or to return to Stuttgart until the Estates and the city had each presented him with a sum of money. He had, moreover, little intention to keep the terms of compact. Money was again extorted, the depredations countenanced by the game-laws were carried to a greater extent than ever; every transgression was, however, winked at by the committee, which dreaded the convocation of a new diet, by which its power would be controlled. For twenty years the diet had not sat, and the committee poured into the ducal coffers all the money that could be drawn from the country, and, among other things, paid the duke 50,000 florins on condition of his not forming a matrimonial alliance with an Austrian princess. He contracted a left-handed marriage with Francisca von Bernedin, whom he created Countess von Hohenheim, and, on his fiftieth birthday, A. D. 1778, promised in a naïve proclamation, which was read from every pulpit in his dominions, henceforth to lead a better life and to devote himself solely and wholly to the welfare of his subjects. The committee, deeply moved by his protestations, instantly voted him a sum of money, with which he built the magnificent château of Hohenheim for his bride. Records of every clime and of every age were here collected. A Turkish mosque contrasted its splendid dome with the pillared Roman temple and the steepled Gothic church. The castled turret rose by the massive Roman tower; the low picturesque hut of the modern peasant stood beneath the shelter of the gigantesque remains of antiquity; and imitations of the pyramids of Cestius, of the baths of Diocletian, a Roman senate-house and Roman dungeons, met the astonished

eye. The pious-minded prince also established a new lottery, and [A. D. 1787] in order to raise funds, sold a thousand of his subjects to the Dutch, who sent them to the Indies, whence but few of them returned. They were, moreover, cheated of their legal pay. The sale of public appointments also recommenced. The duke had, since 1770, occupied himself with the Charles College, so called after him, where the scholars, who were kept with military severity, received excellent instruction in all the free sciences. This academy produced many men of talent. The curse of tyranny, nevertheless, lay over the country, and one of the students belonging to the academy, the great Frederick Schiller, grew up in hatred of the yoke and fled. Schubart, an older and equally liberal poet, was treacherously seized and confined by the duke for ten years on the Hohenasberg.

In Baden, the Margrave, Charles Frederick, became celebrated for the mildness and beneficence of his government. He abolished feudal service, A. D. 1783.

In Hesse-Cassel reigned the Landgrave Frederick, who sought to raise Cassel to a residence of the first rank, erected palaces and châteaux, laid out pleasure-grounds, founded academies, immense museums, etc., and was ever in want of money. Among other public nuisances, he established a lottery, and, after draining the purses of his miserable subjects, enriched himself by selling their persons. In 1776, he concluded a treaty with England, by which he agreed to furnish twelve thousand Hessians for the service of her colonies.* Hesse-Cassel, at that period, merely contained four hundred thousand inhabitants. English commissioners visited Cassel

* "Almost all the princes are *marchands d'hommes* for the powers that pay them highest for the men and take them on the easiest conditions."—*Mémoires de Feuquières.*——"A couple of a thousand years ago it was said of the Tyrians, 'that their merchants were princes.' We can say with equal truth, 'our princes have become merchants, they offer every thing for sale, rank, decorations, titles, law, and justice, and even the persons of their subjects.'"——"There is a Hessian prince of high distinction. He has magnificent palaces, pheasant-preserves at Wilhelmsbad, operas, mistresses, etc. These things cost money. He has, moreover, a hoard of debts, the result of the luxury of his sainted forefathers. What does the prince do in this dilemma? He seizes an unlucky fellow in the street, expends fifty dollars in his equipment, sends him out of the country, and gets a hundred dollars for him in exchange."—*Huergelmer.*

and examined the men purchased by their government, as if they had been cattle for sale. The complaints of parents for the loss of their sons were severely punished, the men were imprisoned, the women sent to the penitentiary. This human traffic was also carried on during the reign of George William, Frederick's son and successor. The last Hessians sent to the colonies were four thousand in number, A. D. 1794. The celebrated Seume relates in his biography: "No one was at that time safe from the understrappers of this trafficker in the bodies and souls of men. Every means were resorted to; persuasion, cunning, fraud, violence. Foreigners of every sort were seized, thrown into prison, and sold. My academical inscription, the only proof of my legitimation, was torn to pieces." Seume was sent out of the country with the Hessians to fight for England against the Americans during the war of independence. His daily recreation, the study of Horace, attracted the attention of his superiors and he was made sergeant. An enthusiastic republican, he was compelled to serve against those who so gloriously asserted their freedom and their rights.——Hanau also furnished one thousand two hundred; Waldeck, several hundred German slaves; Würtemberg, Saxe-Gotha, and the bishop of Münster followed their example. Louis IX. of Hesse-Darmstadt, the best drummer in the holy Roman empire, expired, A. D. 1790.

Frederick, Margrave of Bayreuth, expended the whole revenue of his petty territory in building, in theatres, and fêtes. Frederick II., his brother-in-law, on viewing the splendid plan of the Hermitage, observed, "In this I cannot equal you." He died A. D. 1763, without issue, and Bayreuth fell to Alexander, Margrave of Ansbach, who was completely governed by his mistress, an English-woman, Lady Craven, and who sold fifteen hundred of his subjects to England for colonial service. On their refusal to march, he sent them out of the country in chains. His frequent travels, in which he was accompanied by Lady Craven, cost the country enormous sums, and he at length, first secretly, then openly, ceded the whole territory together with its inhabitants to Prussia. The Margraviate would, on account of the failure of legitimate issue, independently of this cession, have reverted to the Prussian line. The excellent administration of the minister,

Hardenberg, had, since 1792, consoled the people for the miseries they had so long endured.

Charles, duke of Brunswick, who reigned during the seven years' war, was a spendthrift, paid Niccolini, the ballet-master, a salary of 30,000 dollars, sold his subjects, and was ever on bad terms with his Estates. His brothers, Anthony Ulric, who espoused a niece of Anna, empress of Russia, and whose son mounted the Russian throne, Louis, who acquired such unpopularity in Holland, and Ferdinand, the great leader in the seven years' war, gained greater celebrity. Two of his brothers also fell during the seven years' war, Albert at Sorr, Frederick at Hochkirch. His sister, Elisabeth Christina, was consort to Frederick I. His son and successor, Ferdinand, who had greatly distinguished himself in the field, introduced a better system. His refined and cultivated mind and benevolent heart rendered him the idol of the freemasons, who elected him their grand-master in Germany. His court was constantly visited by foreigners of note. He, however, evinced too great partiality for the French.* He also sold, owing to his connexion with England, four thousand men for her colonial service. His brother, Frederick Augustus, came into possession of Œls in right of his wife, a princess of Würtemberg. His second brother, Leopold, was drowned [A. D. 1785] in a flood at Frankfort on the Oder, whilst nobly attempting to save the lives of the citizens.

England raised troops in Hanover and sent four thousand men to Gibraltar, whilst the Germans, purchased from Hesse, etc., were despatched to the East Indies, there to gain ungrateful laurels in the war with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib. Hanover was governed by Field-marshal Freitag, who introduced English Toryism into Germany and gave the first example of the ministerial and aristocratic pride, now almost, as it were, hereditary in that state. Zimmermann, a Swiss physician, a man distinguished hitherto for the liberality of his opinions, was transformed into a servile critic. His other distinguished compatriots, John Müller and Girtanner, also sold themselves, soul and body, to the despotic foreigner. The elector, George III., sat on the throne of England, the slave of

* On one occasion, his table being solely occupied by French guests, one of them impudently told him that he was the only foreigner present.

insolent ministers and of a factious mob. His life was often attempted by madmen. His own mind became at length affected. He was also afflicted with an hereditary disorder in the eyes, and, after having for some time discovered indubitable signs of mental derangement, entirely lost [A. D. 1811] his eyesight and his senses. He lived until 1820 in complete seclusion, his son George, who succeeded him as George IV., the finest gentleman, the most immoral character, and the greatest monarch of his times, governing in his stead as Prince Regent.*

Oldenburg ceased [A. D. 1773] to be a province of Denmark and became one of Russia, the Holstein-Gottorp branch of the ancient house of Oldenburg, reigning in Russia, ceding Holstein in exchange to the branch of that house on the throne of Denmark. Oldenburg was created a duchy by the Russian emperor and declared the hereditary property of Frederick Augustus, prince of Holstein. Germany suffered another loss by the reannexation of Holstein to Denmark. Peter, the only son of the duke, was tormented by religious scruples and fled from his bride, the Princess Sophia of Darmstadt, on their wedding-day. He became completely deranged and was finally compelled to yield the reins of government to his cousin, Peter Frederick Louis.

The most terrible abuses were committed in the lesser states, where they attracted less notice. Count William von Schaumburg-Lippe, who gained great distinction as field-marshal in the Portuguese service and was in his own country honoured as the father and benefactor of his people, offers an honourable exception. The rest of the petty princes imitated the extravagance of their more powerful neighbours. Frederick Augustus of Anhalt-Zerbst dissipated the revenue of his petty territory in France, never returned home, and forbade, under pain of punishment, petitions to be sent to him. Haase, the privy-counsellor, governed in his stead, and shamelessly defrauded the people by artfully multiplying his offices to such a degree, that Sintenis, the author, for instance, was compelled to appeal from Haase, the privy-counsellor, through Haase,

* The mental malady of his royal father, which had been for some time suspected, was placed beyond all doubt by his address to the House on opening parliament, which he gravely commenced with the words— "My lords, gentlemen, and woodcocks, cocking up your tails!" and proceeded without a single deviation through the remainder of the speech.

the privy-counsellor, to Haase, the privy-counsellor. He also sold twelve hundred men for the service of the English colonies. Frederick Augustus, on learning the execution of the French king, refused to take food and died in great mental agony. In Anhalt-Bernburg, the peasantry rebelled on account of the devastation caused by the strict protection of the game, A. D. 1752. Charles William of Nassau beat a peasant, accused of poaching, to death with his own hand, and was in consequence banished by Joseph II. for some years from his own dominions.

The follies perpetrated in almost all the petty countships, several of which were gradually raised to principalities, are perfectly incredible. Barons of the empire even held a petty court and aped the pretensions and titles, nay, the military show of their powerful neighbours. A Count von Limburg-Styrum kept a corps of hussars, which consisted of one colonel, six officers, and two privates. There were court-counsellors attached to the smallest barony belonging to the empire, and, in Franconia and Swabia, the petty lords had their private gallows, the symbol of high jurisdiction. These vanities were however expensive, and the wretched serfs, whose few numbers rendered the slightest impost burthensome, were compelled to furnish means for the lavish expenditure of their haughty lords.*

The ecclesiastical courts had long fallen into the lowest depths of depravity. Their temporal luxury had increased. Frederick Charles, of the family of Erthal, elector of Mayence, acted the part of a Leo X., patronized the arts and sciences, but lived so openly with his mistresses, that Mayence, infected by the example of the court, became a den of infamy.† The ecclesiastical princes plainly perceived the im-

* Vide the account of these miniature courts in Weber's Democritus.

† "Incredible things take place here in Mayence. A prize thesis, in proof of the excellency of celibacy, has just been proposed by a prince, around whose throne stand three mistresses."—*Letters of a travelling Dane.* "I saw the elector in his box at the theatre, surrounded by ladies in full dress, whom I was told were actually court-ladies, court-ladies of an archbishop!——On Dalberg's nomination as coadjutor to the archbishopric, a triumphal arch was erected in his honour with the inscription 'Immortalitati' in a transparency. Either accidentally or purposely the letter t in the third syllable was omitted."—*Travels of a French Emigrant.* "On the publication of Heinse's obscene romance, Ardinghello, the archbishop sent him 20 louis d'or, and appointed him his lecturer. A

possibility of the restoration of ancient episcopal simplicity, and, unconscious of their approaching fall, pursued a common plan, that of rounding off their territories, (Cologne had already annexed to itself Münster, Mayence Worms,* Treves, Augsburg,† and Würzburg Bamberg,) and, as a next step, declaring themselves, like the Gallic church, independent of Rome. Since the expulsion of the Jesuits, they had the imperial house (in Cologne, Joseph's brother Maximilian became [A. D. 1780] coadjutor and shortly afterwards archbishop elector) and the enlightenment of the age, moreover, on their side. As early as 1763, Hontheim, the suffragan-bishop of Treves, had, under the name of Justus Febronius, published a work "concerning the state of the church and the legal power of the pope," which had excited general attention, and [A. D. 1785] the German archbishops in the congress of Bad Ems had, notwithstanding the opposition raised by Pacca, the papal legate, (the same who, at a later period under Napoleon, accompanied the pope into exile,) attacked the primacy of Rome, the false decretals of Isidore, and all the rights so long exercised by the pope over the German church, on the grounds set forth in that work. Eybel's work, "Quid est Papa?" was condemned by a papal bull.

The ecclesiastical states were, if possible, worse administered than the temporal ones. The proverb "It is good to dwell beneath the crosier" was no longer verified. The people were oppressed and reduced to the most abject poverty. The bishop of Münster sold his subjects to heretical England. And yet this bishop, Francis Frederick William von Fürstenberg,‡

Jew at Mayence kept a subscription library, full of the most immoral and licentious works, under the protection of the police."—*Remarks on a Journey from Strassbourg to the Baltic.* The archbishops were kept in countenance by the aristocratic canons, who accumulated benefices to such a degree, that one of the provosts of the cathedral, for instance, a Count von Elz, drew an annual income of 75,000 goldens from the church. The Favorite, a château built in the French style, was erected by the elector Lothar Francis von Stadion.—*Lang's Travels on the Rhine*, 1805.

* In this city there was not a pretty girl who had not been either "niece or sister" to some ecclesiastic. The peasants here also rebelled on account of the game-laws. Vide Travels of a Female Emigrant.

† A governor of Augsburg arrested all pedestrian travellers and sold them to the Prussian recruiting sergeants.—*Schlözer.*

‡ Of the Westphalian baronial family. He published the Monumenta Paderbornensia immediately on his nomination to the bishopric of Pader-

was celebrated for his learning and founded the Münster university, [A. D. 1773,] at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Baron von Brabeck, a member of the diet, opposed the bad government of Francis Egon, Count von Fürstenberg, of the Swabian line, Bishop of Hildesheim, but was persecuted as a revolutionist. The bishop of Spires, who was on bad terms with his chapter, constantly resided at his château at Bruchsal.* The bishop of Liege was expelled by a popular outbreak, caused by the great revenue drawn by him from the gaming tables established at Spa—a scandalous mode of increasing his income, against which the Estates had vainly protested. Philip, elector of Treves, built [A. D. 1763] the château of Philippsfreude, besides the sumptuous residence at Coblentz. Clement Augustus, the luxurious archbishop of Cologne, built the royal residence at Bonn, the châteaux of Poppelsdorf, Brühl, and Falkenlust. His successor, Maximilian Frederick, expended the confiscated wealth of the Jesuits more usefully in the foundation of an academy. Bonn remained, notwithstanding, the abode of luxury. The last elector, Maximilian Francis, brother to Joseph II., kept one hundred and twenty-nine chamberlains.——Joseph, bishop of Passau, one of the Auersperg family, built a theatre and the château of Freudenhayn, where he expired, A. D. 1795. The French clergy were still more depraved. Cardinal Rohan, bishop of Strassburg, carried an innocent girl away from her parents and kept her, together with several others, imprisoned in his harem at Zabern. She escaped, and, although a regular search after her was set on foot throughout the country, did not again fall into his hands. The matter, however, excited such general indignation that he was compelled to take refuge in Paris, where he courted the queen, Marie Antoinette, and was mixed up with the celebrated story of the necklace.† The whole of the upper clergy battened on the sufferings of the people. The popular saying, "Where you see people with their clothes worn out at the elbow, you are on church property; where you see people with their clothes worn out beneath the arm, you are in a temporal

born. Schlözer quotes a curious episcopal rescript of 1783, concerning the preservation of game and the punishment of poachers.

* "Never was a shepherd less careful of his flock, never was there a flock less attached to its shepherd!"—*Travels of a Female Emigrant.*

† See Riem's Journey through France.

state," truly tells the difference existing between temporal and ecclesiastical principalities.——The statistics of the monasteries abolished by Joseph II. demonstrate how the monks and nuns feasted on the sweat of the people. In the Clarisser nunnery were found 919 casks of wine, in the Dominican nunnery at Imbach 3655, and in the establishment of canonesses at Himmelporten as many as 6800. The people in the ecclesiastical states were totally uneducated, stupid, and bigoted. In 1789, the populace of Cologne attempted to assassinate all the Protestant inhabitants on account of the intention of the imperial Aulic council to grant to them liberty of conscience. ——Frederick, duke of York, the second son of George III. of England, was, [A. D. 1764,] when six months old, created bishop of Osnabrück, which was alternately governed by a Catholic and a Lutheran bishop. During his administration, a socman was condemned to draw the plough for life for having ventured to box a steward's ears for taking his affianced bride from him by force and bestowing her on another.*

Alsace and Lorraine fell beneath the intolerable despotism exercised by the French court in unison with the degenerate clergy and nobility. Strassburg was, in the most shameless manner, plundered by the prætor, Klinglin. On the visit of Louis XV. [A. D. 1744] to that city, he compelled the citizens to paint, ornament, and illuminate their houses, to wear curious uniforms, according to their rank and trades, arranged the women and children in fantastical troops of shepherdesses and Swiss, caused the fountains to flow with wine, and strictly prohibited the presence of sick, diseased, or poor persons, for the purpose of impressing the monarch with the wealth and prosperity of the people. Schöpflin, the author of *Alsatia illustrata*, had on this occasion the meanness to address the cowardly, dull-witted, luxurious king, who, to the scandal of his subjects, was openly accompanied by his mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, and whose unprincipled government mainly brought about the French Revolution, as "the father of the country, the patron of the muses, the liberator of Alsace, and a great hero." Friese, in his excellent history of Strassburg, exclaims, "The fine, honest character of the people of Strassburg had within the last sixty-three years (the period of their submission to the French yoke) indeed deeply degenerated!" The whole of the festivities on the occasion of

* See Schlözer's State Archives.

this royal visit were at the expense of the impoverished city, which, moreover, paid an annual tax of 1,000,000 livres to the royal exchequer. Klinglin and Paul Bek, the administrators of the public revenues, also filled their own purses, sold the town property, the forests, appointments, and justice to the highest bidder, and were at length only dismissed from office by the skill with which Gail, the mayor, Faber, the chief magistrate, and other patriotic citizens, took advantage of a dispute between the minister, d'Argenson, with Sillery, the intendant of Alsace. Klinglin died in prison, A. D. 1753; Bek was branded and sent to the galleys.

Lorraine, Alsace, Switzerland, and Holland were not only excluded from the rest of Germany, but the states still appertaining to the empire were also closed one against the other. Bad roads,* a wretched postal system,† senseless prohibitions ‡ in regard to emigration or to marrying out of the country, as, for instance, in the bishopric of Spires, and, more than all, the incredible number of inland duties, checked the natural intercourse of the Germans. From Germersheim to Rotterdam there were no fewer than twenty-nine custom-houses, at all of which vessels were stopped for dues; between Bingen and Coblentz alone there were seven.

CCXLII. *The last days of the Empire.*

THE dissolution of the German empire approached. The princes, powerful or weak, great or petty, had each assumed sovereign sway. The bond of union between them and the empire became daily more and more fragile. Ratisbon, although still the seat of the diet, was no longer visited by the emperor or by the princes. All affairs of moment were transacted by the courts of Vienna, Berlin, Munich, etc.; the members of the diet occupied themselves with empty formalities, such as precedence at table, the colour, form, and position of their seats in the diet, concerning which no fewer than ten official documents, in settlement of a dispute, appeared in 1748.

* From Stuttgard to Tübingen, now half a day's post, two days were formerly requisite. People prepared with the greatest anxiety for a journey to the nearest towns. Bad roads and overturned carriages play a prominent part in the romances of the time.

† Vide the complaints concerning it in Schlözer's state-papers.

‡ For instance, in Bavaria. Whoever attempted to induce others to emigrate was hanged, 1764.—*History of Nuremberg.*

At a congress held at Offenbach, [A. D. 1740,] the petty princes made an unsuccessful attempt to place themselves on an equality with the electors and to interfere with the election of the emperor. The collegium of the imperial free towns, whenever it ventured upon opposition, was generally outvoted at the diet by those of the princes and electors, and had lost all its influence. Wetzlar was still the seat of the imperial chamber, which was also far from securing the slightest legal protection to the German people and became gradually more completely absorbed with formalities, in proof of which a single example suffices, the lawsuit brought before it [A. D. 1549] by the city of Gelnhausen, which was not terminated until 1734. Cramer has filled one hundred and twenty-eight volumes (Wetzlar Leisure-hours) with the most important lawsuits of the empire, which are only striking on account of their extreme unimportance. The same may be said of the imperial Aulic council at Vienna. Prince Colloredo, the imperial vice-chancellor, when complaints against the unjust imprisonment of Moser, the counsellor of the diet, were brought before the imperial chamber, sent directions to Wetzlar for their suppression.* The imperial Aulic council was equally suborned; in 1765, one of the members declared at Prince Colloredo's table, "that no proceedings could be taken against Louis IX., Landgrave of Hesse, for the sake of a couple of Frankfort merchants." All the complaints made against this luxurious despot by his creditors were, in fact, unheeded, nor was it until 1779 that his creditors were half satisfied by a composition. When, in 1729, the youthful son and heir of one of the lords of Aufsess in Franconia was carried by force to Bamberg and by threats and ill-treatment compelled to embrace Catholicism, his mother, who had narrowly escaped sharing his fate, filled the empire with her cries for justice and vengeance, the imperial Aulic council passed a verdict in her favour—which was never carried into effect. Joseph II., moved by the petitions of his people, was the first who attempted to restore power and dignity to the general courts of judicature throughout the empire, but his intended visitation fell to the ground, and all remained as before. The imperial army, an assemblage of small, and extremely small, contingents, had, more especially since the seven years' war, naturally become an object of ridicule. A

* Moser, Political Truths.

petty prince or count furnished the lieutenant, another the captain, a monastery furnished the horse-soldier, a nunnery the horse; a most remarkable diversity in weapons and uniforms naturally resulted from the subdivision of the empire into petty states.

The power no longer lay in the organization of the empire and with the Estates, but solely in the new principalities and their bureaucratic governments. All the great states of Germany were first formed on a French, afterwards, on a Prussian model. From Louis XIV. the princes learnt despotism, the art of rendering the Estates, the nobility, the church, and the cities subservient to their will; from Frederick II. they acquired a regulated form of government, the art of concentrating the power of the state in the finances and in the army, in which the French system was far surpassed by that of Prussia. In France, the convenient system of farming the state prevailed; all the offices of state were either sold or farmed, which consequently gave rise to a competition, which raised the prices of the offices, between the government and the officers, who sought to reimburse themselves by increasing the burthens of the people. In Germany, the more honest, but at the same time more troublesome, system of control prevailed. The systematic love for detail characteristic of the German gave rise to that artificial bureaucracy or supremacy of the clerk's office, which, under the name of the strictest justice, has perhaps proved the most oppressive of tyrannies. The ministry, actuated by a pure love of justice or by paternal solicitude, ere long sought to know and to guide every thing from the palace down to the lowest peasant's hut; the want of money also obliged them to make themselves acquainted with, to watch, and to tax the smallest source of private revenue; these systematic heads were ere long merely occupied with regulating and filling in their registers, as if the state solely existed in their tables, and finally, increasing political agitation heightened the power of the police, by whom the system of espionage was carried to the greatest extreme.

Besides the new and Argus-eyed governments, shadows of diets still existed in Würtemberg, Saxony, Mecklenburg, Anhalt, Lippe, and Reuss. The nobility were every where still extremely powerful, but solely by means of the posts held by

them at court, in the government and army. Their personal privileges had increased at the expense of their political and corporate rights. The cities had also lost all political power, but the citizens had begun by their talents to gain an influence in the service of the state. The peasantry were almost more oppressed by the new system of taxation than they had formerly been by the nobility and were universally poor and harassed; the government, nevertheless, gradually released them from their feudal bonds, promoted the progress of enlightenment, and by so doing prepared them for a complete emancipation from their yoke.

The church played a most lamentable part. Whilst in the Catholic, more particularly in the petty states, the influence of the Jesuits was preserved by the child-like piety and superstitious belief of the people, by fêtes and processions, mummeries, etc.,* the ecclesiastical princes, as has been already shown, gave way to the most open profligacy, and Rome was deprived of her ancient support in the German empire by the abolition of the order of Jesus, the reforms of Joseph II., and by the congress of Ems. The church had never been so powerless.——The princes exercised increased power over

* The largest collection of these religious mummeries is to be met with in the numerous works of the Illuminati and in Weber's "Germany." Religion had degenerated to childish ceremonies. The Mother of God was dressed up like a doll in order to appear in gala on festive occasions. Pretty girls appeared on asses in processions as living Madonnas, and doves were let loose in the churches as living representatives of the Holy Ghost. On the great pilgrimages of the people of Mayence, Fulda, and Eichsfeld, to Waldthüren, the priest bearing the pyx was received with due solemnity by a well-dressed angel, who delivered an oration.—*Schlözer's State Archives.* In 1790, the procession of blood, an ancient ceremony performed by all the authorities and inhabitants of the neighbourhood, was solemnized at Constance; seven thousand horsemen, bearing naked swords and rosaries, accompanied a drop of the Saviour's blood around the fields for the purpose of preserving them against injury from the weather. Vide Swabian Mercury, 1838. Religious comedies with allegorical representations, pilgrimages, processions of brotherhoods in honour of particular saints, were all calculated upon as means of working upon the senses of the multitude, who, on these occasions, usually gave way to unbounded licence. The pilgrimages were especially notorious for immoral results. The numerous, well-fed, and idle clergy contrived by means of ceremonies of this nature to creep into houses and to seduce the innocent and unwary. No domestic affair could be arranged without the interference of a priest. They blessed the stable, the table and the bed, the field and the cattle, even the daily food, etc. etc.

the Lutheran and Reformed churches within their demesnes. The sovereign possessed the *jus majestaticum circa liturgiam*, that is, the triple right; 1st, of granting the free exercise of religion according to a certain confession of faith, the *jus concedendi;* 2nd, of internal inspection (*inspectio*); 3rd, of external protection (*advocatio*).

In Lutheran Saxony, where the sovereign belonged to the Catholic, in Lutheran Prussia, to the Reformed, church, these princes for some time granted, from a political motive, full liberty to the Lutheran clergy, and, in order to avoid raising any unnecessary excitement among the people, but little interfered with ecclesiastical affairs. The new system had, however, scarcely come into play, than Frederick William I. made a powerful attack upon the church, convoked a synod of the whole of the Prussian clergy [A. D. 1737] at Köslin, regulated the Lutheran service by cabinet orders, abolished the use of tapers, white dresses for the choristers, etc., the collection of money within the church; placed restrictions on the administration of the holy sacrament, as, for instance, to the impenitent, and even prescribed rules for preaching. The whole of his decrees were calculated for the promotion of religion and morality. His son, Frederick II., acted with equal despotism but with a contrary purpose. His object was to relax, not to heighten, religious austerity. With this intent, he neutralized one confession of faith by the other by tolerating them all and by encouraging modern French infidelity by his known principles and by his writings. With this intent, he abolished his father's ordinances, permitted all who chose to carry tapers and to wear white robes, whilst all confessions were equally the objects of his ridicule. On the introduction of a new psalm-book, against which several of the communes protested, by the consistory in 1780, he wrote, "Every body may do as he chooses in this matter; every one is at liberty to sing, 'Now may all the forests rest,' or any other silly thing that may suit his taste." With this intent, he abolished public penance in churches and essentially restricted the power of the church in awarding punishment in cases of immorality. With this intent, he diminished the number of church festivals, notwithstanding the few that still remained, and, in order to prevent the clergy from ever again becoming an obstacle in his way, gave them a new constitution, by which their collegiate ties were dissolved, which isolated

and placed them under the control of a supreme consistory entirely dependent upon the crown. The lower clergy were also utterly demoralized by the system of patronage. The candidate served for years as a tutor, bore every species of humiliation, and was finally rewarded by the gift of a living on the property of his noble patron. The new pastor was often compelled to bind himself to make a transfer of the property and privileges attached to the living. As early as 1558, consequently in the earliest period of the Reformation, one of the church ordonnances in Brandenburg ran as follows: "Some of the noble patrons not being in the habit of keeping a pastor, a portion of the revenue of the living must, in consideration thereof, be kept back for them," etc. This briefly explains the poverty of the majority of the livings.* The custom was also introduced by the licentious nobility of disposing of their cast-off mistresses together with a living or of attaching the gift to the hand of the widow or daughter of the deceased pastor, in order to spare themselves the inconvenience of providing for her maintenance. In 1746, the following oath was, at Hildburghausen, imposed upon the clergy on their installation into a living, "I swear that, as a means of gaining this appointment, a certain woman has not been offered to me in marriage." The lower clergy, notwithstanding their oppressed state and their poverty, have, however, generally maintained their reputation and by their piety and morality frustrated the attempts made to reduce them to the lowest depths of degradation, in the same manner that the people have never been wholly perverted by the pernicious example of their rulers. ——Among the Lutheran states, Würtemberg was chiefly distinguished for the comparative independence of her clergy, who, reared from early youth in monastic academies, and, lastly, in the college at Tübingen, formed a class, at once influential on account of its learning and its corporative spirit and of the church property it still possessed. It was represented in the diet by fourteen prelates.

The dead-letter spirit, which had become prevalent among the Protestants, which had again degraded theology to mere scholasticism and had not only maintained but strengthened the ancient superstition of the crowd, as, for instance, in

* Concerning the State of Religion in the Prussian States. Leipzig, 1779.

respect to witchcraft, had gradually vanished as knowledge was increased by the study of the classics and of natural philosophy. Halle became for this second period of the Reformation what Wittenberg had been for the first. As Luther formerly struggled against the monks and monkish superstition, Thomasius [A. D. 1728] combated Lutheran orthodoxy, overthrew the belief in witchcraft, and reintroduced the use of the German language into the cathedral service, whence it had long been expunged. He was succeeded [A. D. 1754] by the philosopher, Wolf, the scholar of the great Leibnitz, who beneficially enlightened the ideas of the theological students. Before long, neology or the critical study of the Bible, and a positive divinity, which sought to unite the Bible with philosophy, prevailed. The founders of this school were Michaelis at Göttingen, Semler at Halle, and Ernesti at Leipzig. Mosheim at Berlin and Gellert at Leipzig greatly elevated the tone of morality. Spalding * already attempted to check the erratic progress of enlightenment. Voltaire's lampoons against Christianity had at that period spread over Germany, and Berlin had become the elysium of free-thinkers. Besides Frederick, Lessing exercised great influence on this party. Nicolai, the noted Berlin bookseller, in his Universal German Library, began a criticism upon all the works published in Germany.† Shortly before this, Thummel had, also at Berlin, brought forward the degraded state of the Protestant clergy in his excellent poem "Wilhelmina;" Nicolai continued the subject in a romance, "Sebaldus Nothanker," in which he gave a masterly description of the state of the Protestant church at that time and excited a feeling of hatred and contempt against the reigning consistories, with which the wearing of perukes was, among other things, a point of high importance. The Catholic clergy had disdained their adoption; their Protestant brethren, however, opposed them in this as in all other matters, and no Lutheran preacher consequently durst make his appearance in public unperuked. Heaps of controversial works were published on this subject.

* John Joachim Spalding, a celebrated Swedish divine and author, born 1714. He wrote several able works: the "Destination of Man;" "Religion the most important Affair of Mankind," etc. Died 1804.—*Maunder's Biographical Treasury.*

† This work was continued forty years, though Nicolai ceased to edit it at the end of the hundred and seventh volume, in 1792.—TRANSLATOR.

——Mauvillon, Wünsch, and, more especially, Paalzow, wrote with great fanaticism against the Christian religion. Schummel, at Breslau, warned against free-thinking in a romance, entitled " The little Voltaire," which affords a deep insight into the wild confusion of ideas at that time prevalent, and describes the writings, secret societies, and intrigues of the free-thinkers. Barth, at Halle, by means of his popular works, attempted to spread among the people the ideas at that time convulsing the learned world, but was with his Rationalism, which he sought to set up in opposition to Christianity, too shallow and coarse to be attractive.

Liberty of thought had degenerated to free-thinking, and, like every abuse, speedily produced a reaction. John Arndt, a native of Anhalt, published his popular treatise " On true Christianity," in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The learned divines were, notwithstanding, first led to teach a religion of the heart, instead of inculcating a mere dead-letter belief, by Spener, who [A. D. 1670] founded a *collegium pietatis* at Frankfurt a M., and [A. D. 1705] was appointed chaplain to the court at Dresden and provost at Berlin. He replaced Christian love on her rightful throne, and to him is the Protestant church far more deeply indebted than to the philosophers of the day, although his fine and comprehensive ideas were carried but little into practice. He demanded toleration of every confession of faith and their union by Christian love; he rejected the sovereignty assumed by the state over the church as well as the authority of the consistories and faculties, and aimed at the emancipation of the Christian commonwealth.* His followers, the Pietists, who have been greatly calumniated, were grievously persecuted on account of their extravagant tendencies. One of their number, Gichtel, the proctor of the imperial chamber, founded the sect of the Engelsbrüder. Hoburg, the Anabaptist, Petersen, the polygrapher, the ill-fated Kuhlmann, who attempted to blend all religions into one but was burnt alive at Moscow, [A. D. 1689,] and several female seers drew general attention. Franke, the worthy founder of the orphan school at Halle, followed in Spener's steps. Pietism took a peculiar form at Herrnhut, where Count Zinzendorf founded a new church of love and fraternity, the members of which obeyed particular laws

* Vide Hossbach, Spener.

and wore a particular dress. The gentleness and simplicity of this community strongly contrasted with the wild licence prevalent in Saxony during the reign of Augustus, the reaction to which had given them birth. They termed themselves the Moravian Brethren, some remnants of the ancient Hussites having passed over to them. The accession of numbers of Bohemians belonging to the Lichtenstein estates drew a reclamation from the Saxon government. A number of the Bohemians took refuge in Prussia, and Zinzendorf, who was banished Saxony for ten years, established himself in the ancient Ronneburg in the Wetterau. By his conference with Frederick William I., who learnt to esteem him highly, by his connexion with several other religiously inclined persons of high rank, the Counts Reuss and Dohna, the lords of Seidlitz in Silesia, etc., by his frequent travels and his extreme prudence, he, nevertheless, speedily succeeded in regaining his former footing. As early as 1733, he sent numbers of pilgrims into distant countries for the purpose of propagating religion and of converting the heathen. He twice visited the savages of North America as a missionary. The resolute piety, which induced so many homely artificers to quit all for the sake of propagating the gospel amid the snows of Greenland and Lapland or in the burning climes of the East, where they succeeded in converting great numbers, affords at once a touching and instructive lesson. By means of their colonies, they formed important commercial connexions, created a market for home produce, and, by the credit they acquired by their reputation for the strict uprightness of their dealings, gained immense riches. Their prosperity put their opponents to the blush; they were ridiculed and esteemed. Spangenberg succeeded Zinzendorf as head of the society, whose members are said to have amounted, at the commencement of the present century, to half a million. Their principal towns are Herrnhut, Barby, Neuwied, and Ziest near Utrecht; most of those of lesser note are distinguished by religious or biblical names, such as Gnadenberg, (*Gnade*, grace,) Gnadenfeld, Gnadenfrei, Gnadenhütte, Gnadenau, Friedenthal, (valley of peace,) Friedenberg, etc., Bethlehem, Nazareth, Salem, Bethany, etc. The child-like simplicity and gentleness of the Herrnhuters highly recommended them as instructors of the

female sex, and, even at the present day, families, not belonging to their society, send their daughters to be educated in these asylums of innocence and piety.——Pietism spread simultaneously into the Bergland, where it still flourishes in the Wupperthal.

CCXLIII. *The liberal tendency of the Universities.*

In proportion as the universities shook off the yoke imposed by theological and juridical ignorance, (*vide* the trials for witchcraft,) the study of philosophy, languages, history, and the natural sciences gained ground. A wide range was thus opened to learning, and a spirit of liberality began to prevail, which, as the first effect of its cosmopolital tendency, completely blunted the patriotic feelings of the German, by rendering his country a mere secondary object of interest and inquiry.

The struggle between modern ideas and ancient usage began also in the lower academies. Rousseau proposed the fundamental transformation of the human race and the creation of an ideal people by means of education. John Bernard Basedow attempted to put his novel plans of education into practice by the seminary, known as "the Philanthropinum," established by him at Dessau, in which many excellent teachers were formed, and by which great good was effected. Basedow, nevertheless, speedily became bankrupt, to the great delight of the pedants. Salzmann, in his academy of Schnepfenthal near Gotha, stands almost alone in his plan for uniting physical exercise with mental improvement for the attainment of practical ends, for rendering the student a useful citizen, not a mere bookworm. Rochow published his celebrated "Children's Friend," which, together with Gellert's Fables, became a favourite book for the instruction of youth, and involuntarily compelled teachers not merely to inculcate blind belief and to enforce the study of the dead languages, but also to form their pupils' minds by awakening the imagination and strengthening their moral feelings by good examples. This literary attempt, however, speedily degenerated; Weisse published at Leipzig a large "Children's Friend" in 24 volumes, for children of good families, full of unchildlike absurdities. Campe,

by his "New Robinson Crusoe,"* estranged the rising generation in their early childhood from their country and inspired them, perfectly in the spirit of the times, with a love of enterprise and a desire to carry their energies to some foreign or far distant land. Funke taught every thing by rote and smothered originality by assiduously teaching every thing, even how to play. In the popular schools, the catechism, and in the learned academies, grammatical pedantry, were, nevertheless, still retained. The best description of the state of the schools in Germany, during the latter part of the past century, is to be found in Schummel's "Pointed Beard." The new plans of education adopted by a few private establishments and recommended in the numerous new publications on the subject more particularly owed their gradual adoption to the tutors, who, in their freer sphere of action, bestowed their attention upon the arts most useful in practical life, and, out of respect for the parents, introduced a more humane treatment of the children. The biography of "Felix Kaskorbi," a tutor aged forty, graphically depictures the torments to which he and his colleagues were often exposed in their arduous and useful calling.

Private and individual efforts would, however, have but little availed without the beneficial reformation that took place in the public academies. In England, the study of the ancient classics, so well suited to the stern character and liberal spirit of the people, had produced men noted for depth of learning, by whom the humanities and the spirit of antiquity were revived. Their influence extended to Hanover. At Göttingen, Heyne created a school, which opposed the spirit to the dead letter, and, in the study of the classics, sought not merely an acquaintance with the lauguage but also with the ideas of ancient times, and Winckelmann visited Italy in order to furnish Germany with an account of the relics of antiquity and to inspire his countrymen with a notion of their sublimity and beauty. The attention of the student was drawn to mythology, to ancient history, and an acquaintance with the lives of the ancients led to the knowledge of modern history and geography.

* Which was founded on the popular work of Defoe.—TRANSLATOR.

The study of history became universal. The history of the world succeeded to the records of monasteries, cities, and states. The first manuals of universal history were, it must be confessed, extremely dry and uninteresting, whilst the great historical dictionaries of Iselin,* etc., and the collections of histories of all the nations of the earth, either translated or continued from the English, in which Schlözer† already discovered excessive sceptical severity, were, on the other hand, abundantly copious. Ecclesiastical history was also briefly and clearly reviewed by Spittler, and elaborately continued by Mosheim, Schrökh, Plank, etc. Arnold‡ published an excellent history of the heretics and of different sects. The first geographical antiquities are collected in the Chronicon Gottwicense; the best maps were given by Homann. The systematic books of instruction in geography by Hübner, Büsching, (to whom the science of statistics is greatly indebted,) Hassel, Mannert, etc., were afterwards continued on a more extensive scale. The newspapers also increased in importance. The Frankfurt Journal was commenced, A. D. 1615, by Emel, and was followed by the Postavise and the Fulda Postreuter. The Hamburg Correspondent was first published in 1710. The history of the day was continued from 1617 to 1717, in the Theatrum Europeum, commenced by Gottfried; in the Diarium Europæum of Elisius, (Meyer,) from 1657 to 1681; Valckenier het verwaerd Europa, from 1664 to 1676, continued by A. Müller; Cramer's History, from 1694 to 1698; Lamberty's Memoirs, from 1700 to 1718; the Mercure Historique, Bousset, recueils des actes, from 1713 to 1748. The Frankfurt Reports and the new Historical Gallery opened at Nuremberg between the thirty and seven years' wars. The great collection of treaties of Du Mont, from 1731 to the year 1800; the lesser one of Schmauss; that of Wenk up to 1772; the European Fama, up to the seven years' war. Schulz von Ascherode, from 1750 to 1763; Count Herzberg, from 1756 to 1778. Dohm's Memorabilia, from 1778 to 1806; Geb-

* Professor of history and antiquities at Marburg. Born at Basil, A. D. 1681.—TRANSLATOR.

† Professor of philosophy and politics at Göttingen. Born 1737.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Professor of poetry, history, and rhetoric at Altorf. Born 1627.—TRANSLATOR.

hard, recueil des traités de 1792 to 1795. Koch and Schöll, histoire des traités, up to 1815.

For German history in particular much was done first of all by the great collections of the ancient unprinted chronicles, the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, made by Eccard, Hahn, Leibnitz, Ludwig, Lünig, Lundorp, Meichelbek, Menken, Rauch, Schannat, Schilter, Schottgen and Kreusig, Senkenberg, Sommersberg, etc.; by the glossaries of Scherz and Haltaus, by the collection of old German laws by Georgisch, etc.; by the histories of the empire by Struve, Häberlin, Pütter, etc. The first voluminous history of Germany was written by Schmidt, an enlightened Catholic. Maskou produced an excellent work on the ancient histories of Germany. The best provincial histories were that of Croatia by Valvasor, of Carinthia by Megiser, of Styria by Cäsar, of Bohemia by Pelzel, of Transylvania by Schlözer, of Silesia by Klöber, of Prussia by Petri and Baczko, of Saxony by Weisse, of Anhalt by Bekmann, of Thuringia by Falkenstein, of Brunswick by Rehtmeyer, Spittler, of Westphalia by Justus Möser, of Holstein by Christiani, of Ditmarsch by Dankwerth, Bolten, of Frizeland by Wiarda, of the circle of the Saal by Dreihaupt, of Alsace by Schöpflin, of Würtemberg by Sattler, of Switzerland by Tscharner, John Müller, etc.; John Müller attempted a style in imitation of Tacitus and introduced a bombastical, affected manner, which created more astonishment than admiration. He, moreover, solely aimed at representing the Swiss as totally distinct from the rest of the great German nation, as a petty nation fallen as it were from the skies, and by so doing gave rise to a number of other provincial histories, which rendered every petty principality in Germany unconnected with the history of the empire and described them as having been eternally independent and insulated. Provincial feuds and neighbourly hatred were by this means fed.—— Pöllnitz, Wackerbarth, Frederick the Great, his sister, the Margravine of Bayreuth, Dohm, Görtz, Schmettau, and Schulenburg wrote their memoirs.——There were also numerous histories of towns, as, for instance, that of Spires by Lehmann, of Dantzig by Curiken, of Augsburg by Stetten, of Ratisbon by Gemeiner, of Magdeburg by Rathmann, of Strassburg by Friese, of Berlin by an anonymous author, published A. D. 1792, of Breslau by Klose.

The Dutch took the lead in political science. As early as 1638, Althausen laid the *majestas populi* down as a principle, and Hugo Grotius laid the first foundation to the law of nations. In Lutheran and Catholic Germany, on the other hand, merely "works on the Art of Government," "Mirrors of Honour," etc. were published, in which the adulation prevalent in France was zealously emulated, and the whole of ancient Olympus was plundered for the purpose of adorning each sacred allonge-peruke with emblems and divine attributes. The jealousy between the houses of Hohenzollern and Habsburg, nevertheless, permitted Pufendorf, a Brandenburg privy-counsellor, to commence a tolerably liberal criticism on the German constitution, in which he was speedily imitated by the Prussians, Cocceji and Gundling. J. J. Moser took a still more independent view of the reigning political evils in Germany, and Schlözer was, shortly anterior to the French Revolution, equally liberal in his state-papers. The learned Pütter at Göttingen was more an historical than a political writer, and, generally speaking, the literature of the day rarely touched upon the political misfortunes of Germany. In proportion as the empire lost one province after another were the people gradually deprived of their ancient privileges, still no one spoke, and the additional burthens on the peasantry, the increased taxation, the sale of men for service in the Indies, the inactivity of the provincial Estates, etc., excited as little discussion as the impudent seizure of Strassburg.——Heineccius and Böhmer, in Austria, Sonnenfels, who aided Joseph II. in his reforms, were distinguished professors of jurisprudence.

The study of mathematics was greatly promoted by Liebnitz, the inventor of differential-calculus, and was carried to higher perfection by Lambert of Alsace, by the family of Bernouilli of Basle, Euler, etc. The Germans made great discoveries in astronomy. Scheiner [A. D. 1650] discovered the spots in the sun; Hevel [A. D. 1687] and Dörfel found out the paths of the comets; Eimmart of Nuremberg measured several of the fixed stars. Herschel [born A. D. 1740, ob. A. D. 1822] discovered, with his giant telescope in England, [A. D. 1781,] the planet Uranus, nebulous stars, planetary nebulæ, etc. Huygens improved the telescope, Löwenhoek and Hontsoecker the microscope (in Holland). Lieberkühn of Breslau in-

vented the solar microscope; Tschirnhausen, burning-glasses; Snell discovered the laws of refraction. The study of physics was greatly promoted by Otto von Guericke, burgomaster of Magdeburg, [A. D. 1686,] the inventor of the air-pump and of the electrifying machine; by Sturm, [A. D. 1703,] the founder of experimental physics; by Fahrenheit, who [A. D. 1714] invented the thermometer; by Kircher, the inventor of the speaking-trumpet; by Hausen, Wilke, Cunäus, Muschenbroek, who improved the electrifying machine. Among the chemists, before whose science alchymy fled, Glauber, who gave his name to a celebrated salt, Becher, Stahl, Brand, the discoverer of phosphorus, and Gmelin, merit particular mention. Werner acquired great note as a mineralogist in Saxon Freiberg at the close of the eighteenth century. Botany was industriously studied by Haller of Switzerland, Volckamer of Nuremberg, etc.; Rumpf's "Herbarium Amboinense" contains the most valuable botanical collection of this period. Klein, the noted travellers, Pallas, Blumenbach, and Bechstein, were celebrated as zoologists. The first great physiological periodical works were the curious Medic. Phys. Ephemeridæ, written in Latin, in which Christian Mentzel, the celebrated linguist and naturalist, private physician to the great elector, diligently recorded his observations, and the "Breslau Collections."

Geography and natural history were greatly promoted by travels undertaken for scientific purposes. Reinhold and George Forster accompanied Cook round the world, A. D. 1772. The noted traveller, Kämpfer, went with the Dutch to Japan, A. D. 1716. Montanus, Neuhof, etc., wrote accounts of the Dutch embassies to China, whence much information was also sent by the Jesuits,* among whom, Tieffenthaler, the Tyrolese, gained great fame at the commencement of the eighteenth century by being the first, and, up to the present period, the only European who travelled over-land from China to India, and who first saw the Dawalagiri, the highest mountain in the world. Carsten Niebuhr was the most celebrated among the travellers in Persia and Arabia. Pallas and

* Jesuits have continually distinguished themselves at Peking as Mandarins, guardians of the observatory and presidents of an academy of sciences, as, for instance, Goggeisl, A. D. 1771, and again in 1780, Father Hallerstein of Swabia.

Gmelin explored Siberia. Samuel Theophilus Gmelin, the noted naturalist, nephew to the above-mentioned botanist and geographer, travelled for the empress, Catherine II. of Russia. Whilst travelling [A. D. 1774] in Tartary, he was thrown into prison by one of the chiefs, who demanded 30,000 roubles for his ransom, which Catherine refused and he died in prison. Egede and Kranz, Herrnhut missionaries, have given an account of icy Greenland, Dobrizhofer, the Jesuit, another of torrid Paraguay, etc.

In pharmacology the Germans have done more than any other nation; after them, the Dutch. Helmont, although not free from the alchymical prejudices of his age, did much good by his dietary method, all diseases, according to him, proceeding from the stomach. Hermann Boerhaave, the most eminent physician of his time, encouraged by the anatomical discoveries of Löwenhoek and Ruysch, carefully investigated the internal formation of the human body in search of the primary causes of diseases, but was led astray by the mechanical notion that all diseases originated in the improper circulation or diminution of the humours of the body.* In Germany proper, medicine was not brought to any degree of perfection until a later period. Frederick Hoffman, in pursuance of the system of Leibnitz, ascribed all diseases to motion and treated them simply as cramps. His suggestions greatly advanced the science of pathology. Stahl, the Pietist, opposed this mechanical theory and founded a mystical system, which recognised the soul as forming the strength of the body, the blood as the eternal foe of the divine power inherent in man, and therefore recommended its constant restriction and purification by means of bleeding. Albert von Haller, the poet and naturalist, brought forward the system of nervous pathology, which was carried still further by Christopher Louis Hoffman, who ascribed all diseases to the dissolution of the solids by the corruption of the humours. Stoll, the empiric, opposed the whole of these theories, and was the first who noted the impossibility of accounting for the diseases by which nations were visited in various climes

* Boerhaave's numerous works are, nevertheless, still regarded as text-books by the profession; his knowledge as an anatomist, chemist, and botanist, as well as of the causes, nature, and treatment of diseases, was unrivalled.—TRANSLATOR.

and at various periods; he, nevertheless, chiefly considered the gall bladder as the seat of infection, which he sought to palliate by the use of emetics. Reil practised a more refined empiricism.——The discovery of animal magnetism by Mesmer [A. D. 1775] was an important one, not only in medicine, but more particularly in psychology. It was first studied as a science by John Frederick Gmelin, professor of chemistry and natural history at Göttingen, and has since engaged the attention of numerous physicians and psychologists. A miraculous property has been attributed to this discovery, which is certainly one of the most extraordinary ever made in inventive Germany. Sömmering was the most eminent of the German anatomists. Gall gained a transient fame by his novel phrenological ideas, and Lavater of Zurich by his science of physiognomy. The belief in apparitions was again spread throughout the Protestant world by this pious enthusiast and by Jung Stilling, whilst Father Gassner, at the same time, about A. D. 1770, inspired the Catholic population of Upper Swabia with terror by his exorcism.

Philosophy gave, however, at that period, the tone to learning. The eighteenth century was termed the age of philosophy, being that in which the French began in their Encyclopedia to regard all human knowledge in an independent point of view, neither ecclesiastical nor Christian. The Germans, although borrowing their frivolous mock-enlightenment from France, imitated the English in the serious study of philosophy and philology. Under the protection of the king of England, the Baron von Leibnitz, the celebrated mathematician and philosopher, shone at Hanover, like Albertus Magnus, in every branch of learning. His system was a union of the Christian mysticism of former times and of the scholastic scientific modern philosophy, the result of the study of mathematics and of the classics. According to him, an infinite number of worlds are possible in the Divine understanding; but, of all possible ones, God has chosen and formed the best. Each being is intended to attain the highest degree of happiness of which it is capable, and is to contribute, as a part, to the perfection of the whole. The gradual deviation of philosophy from Christianity, and the increasing similarity between it and heathenism, were in accordance with the spirit of the age. In 1677, Spinosa, the Dutch Jew, reproduced, with

subtle wit, the old doctrine of the mystic, Valentine Weigel, concerning the original contradictions apparent in the world, which he explained, not by a Christian idea of love, but by a mathematical solution.* Leibnitz had numerous followers, among whom, Bilfinger attempted by pure mathematical reasoning, unaided by revelation, to explain its most inexplicable secret, the origin of evil, and Wolf converted his master's theories into a convenient scholastic system, completely devoid of mysticism and merely retaining the ideas consonant with the doctrine of common Rationalism. He gained immense fame by his opposition to the orthodox theologians. Mathematical reasoning was certainly useful for the proper arrangement of ideas, but was essentially devoid of purport. In England, it led to mere scepticism, to a system of doubt and negation, whence, instead of returning to the study of theology, the English philosophers turned to a zealous research in psychology, in which they were imitated by the Germans, Platner, Reimarus, Mendelsohn, the physician Zimmermann, etc.; all of whom were surpassed by Kant in 1804, at Königsberg, in his "Critical Inquiry into the Nature of Pure Reason," which contains a critical analysis of every mental faculty. His influence over his fellow countrymen was unlimited, owing to his placing reason above all else, whilst he, at the same time, strongly marked the moral necessities and duties of man, and paid homage to the enlightenment, then in general vogue, and to moral sobriety, the permanent national characteristic of the German.

CCXLIV. *Art and Fashion.*

ALTHOUGH art had, under French influence, become unnatural, bombastical, in fine, exactly contrary to every rule of good taste, the courts, vain of their collections of works of art, still emulated each other in the patronage of the artists of the day, whose creations, tasteless as they were, nevertheless afforded a species of consolation to the people, by diverting their thoughts from the miseries of daily existence.

* Spinosa renounced the Jewish religion for that of Calvin. He afterwards became a Mennonist, and at last fell into the most dangerous scepticism, if not downright atheism.—TRANSLATOR.

Architecture degenerated in the greatest degree. Its sublimity was gradually lost as the meaning of the Gothic style became less understood, and a tasteless imitation of the Roman style, like that of St. Peter's at Rome, was brought into vogue by the Jesuits and by the court-architects, by whom the chateau of Versailles was deemed the highest chef-d'œuvre of art. This style of architecture was accompanied by a style of sculpture equally unmeaning and forced; saints and Pagan deities in theatrical attitudes, fat genii, and coquettish nymphs peopled the roofs of the churches and palaces, presided over bridges, fountains, etc. Miniature turnery-ware and microscopical sculpture also came into fashion. Such curiosities as, for instance, a cherry-stone, on which Pranner, the Carinthian, had carved upwards of a hundred faces; a chessboard, the completion of which had occupied a Dutchman for eighteen years; golden carriages drawn by fleas; toys composed of porcelain or ivory in imitation of Chinese works of art; curious pieces of mechanism, musical clocks, etc., were industriously collected into the cabinets of the wealthy and powerful. This taste was, however, not utterly useless. The predilection for ancient gems promoted the study of the remains of antiquity, as Stosch, Lippert, and Winckelmann prove, and that of natural history was greatly facilitated by the collections of natural curiosities.

The style of painting was, however, still essentially German, although deprived by the Reformation and by French influence of its ancient sacred and spiritual character. Nature was now generally studied in the search after the beautiful. Among the pupils of Rubens, the great founder of the Dutch school, Jordaens was distinguished for brilliancy and force of execution, Van Dyk [A. D. 1541] for grace and beauty, although principally a portrait painter and incapable of idealizing his subjects, in which Rembrandt, [A. D. 1674,] who chose more extensive historical subjects, and whose colouring is remarkable for depth and effect, was equally deficient. Rembrandt's pupil, Gerhard Douw, introduced domestic scenes; his attention to the minutiæ of his art was such that he is said to have worked for three days at a broom-stick, in order to represent it with perfect truth. Denner carried accuracy still further; in his portraits of old men every hair

in the beard is carefully imitated. Francis and William* Mieris discovered far greater talent in their treatment of social and domestic groups; Terbourg and Netscher, on the other hand, delighted in the close imitation of velvet and satin draperies; and Schalken, in the effect of shadows and lamplight. Honthorst† attempted a higher style, but Van der Werf's small delicious nudities and Van Loos's luxurious pastoral scenes were better adapted to the taste of the times. Whilst these painters belonged to the higher orders of society, of which their works give evidence, numerous others studied the lower classes with still greater success. Besides Van der Meulen and Rugendas, the painters of battle-pieces, Wouwermann chiefly excelled in the delineation of horses and groups of horsemen, and Teniers, Ostade, and Jan Steen became famous for the surpassing truth of their peasants and domestic scenes. To this low but happily-treated school also belonged the cattle-pieces of Berchem and Paul de Potter, whose "Bull and Cows" were, in a certain respect, as much the ideal of the Dutch as the Madonna had formerly been that of the Italians or the Venus di Medici that of the ancients.

Landscape-painting alone gave evidence of a higher style. Nature, whenever undesecrated by the vulgarity of man, is ever sublimely simple. The Dutch, as may be seen in the productions of Breughel, called, from his dress, "Velvet Breughel," and in those of Elzheimer, termed, from his attention to minutiæ, the Denner of landscape-painting, were at first too careful and minute; but Paul Brill [A. D. 1626] was inspired with finer conceptions and formed the link between preceding artists and the magnificent Claude Lorraine, (so called from the place of his birth, his real name being Claude Gelee,) who resided for a long time at Munich, and who first attempted to idealize nature as the Italian artists had formerly idealized man. Everdingen and Ruysdael, on the contrary, studied nature in her simple northern garb, and the sombre pines of the former, the cheerful woods of the latter, will ever be at-

* Also his brother John, who painted with equal talent in the same style.—TRANSLATOR.

† Called also Gerardo dalle Notti from his subjects, principally night-scenes and pieces illuminated by torch or candle-light. His most celebrated picture is that of Jesus Christ before the Tribunal of Pilate.—TRANSLATOR.

tractive, like pictures of a much-loved home, to the German. Bakhuysen's sea-pieces and storms are faithful representations of the Baltic. In the commencement of last century, landscape-painting also degenerated and became mere ornamental flower-painting, of which the Dutch were so passionately fond that they honoured and paid the most skilful artists in this style like princes. The dull prosaic existence of the merchant called for relief. Huysum was the most celebrated of the flower-painters, with Rachel Ruysch, William von Arless, and others of lesser note. Fruit and kitchen pieces were also greatly admired. Hondekotter was celebrated as a painter of birds.

Painting was, in this manner, confined to a slavish imitation of nature, for whose lowest objects a predilection was evinced until the middle of the eighteenth century, when a style, half Italian, half antique, was introduced into Germany by the operas, by travellers, and more particularly by the galleries founded by the princes, and was still further promoted by the learned researches of connoisseurs, more especially by those of Winckelmann. Mengs, the Raphael of Germany, Oeser, Tischbein, the landscape-painters Seekatz, Hackert, Reinhardt, Koch, etc., formed the transition to the modern style. Frey, Chodowiecki, etc. gained great celebrity as engravers.

Architecture flourished during the middle ages, painting at the time of the Reformation, and music in modern times. The same spirit that spoke to the eye in the eternal stone now breathed in transient melody to the ear. The science of music, transported by Dutch artists into Italy, had been there assiduously cultivated; the Italians had speedily surpassed their masters, and had occupied themselves with the creation of a peculiar church-music and of the profane opera, whilst the Netherlands and the whole of Germany was convulsed by bloody religious wars. After the peace of Westphalia, the national music of Germany, with the exception of the choral music in the Protestant churches, was almost silent, and Italian operas were introduced at all the courts, where Italian chapel-masters, singers, and performers were patronized in imitation of Louis XIV., who pursued a similar system in France. German talent was reduced to imitate the Italian masters, and, in 1628, Sagittarius produced at Dresden the first German opera in imitation of the Italian, and Keyser published no fewer than one hundred and sixteen.

The German musicians were, nevertheless, earlier than the German poets, animated with a desire to extirpate the foreign and degenerate mode fostered by the vanity of the German princes, and to give free scope to their original and native talent. This regeneration was effected by the despised and simple organists of the Protestant churches. In 1717, Schroeder, a native of Hohenstein in Saxony, invented the pianoforte and improved the organ. Sebastian Bach, in his colossal fugues, like to a pillared dome dissolved in melody,* raised music by his compositions to a height unattained by any of his successors. He was one of the most extraordinary geniuses that ever appeared on earth. Handel, whose glorious melodies entranced the senses, produced the grand oratorio of the "Messiah," which is still performed in both Protestant and Catholic cathedrals; and Graun, with whom Frederick the Great played the flute, brought private singing into vogue by his musical compositions. Gluck was the first composer who introduced the depth and pathos of more solemn music into the opera. He gained a complete triumph at Paris over Piccini, the celebrated Italian musician, in his contest respecting the comparative excellencies of the German and Italian schools. Haydn introduced the variety and melody of the opera into the oratorio, of which his "Creation" is a standing proof. In the latter half of the foregoing century, church music has gradually yielded to the opera. Mozart brought the operatic style to perfection in the wonderful compositions that eternalize his fame.

The German theatre was, owing to the Gallomania of the period, merely a bad imitation of the French stage. Gottsched,† who greatly contributed towards the reformation of German literature, still retained the stilted Alexandrine and the pseudo-Gallic imitation of the ancient dramatists to which Lessing put an end. Lessing wrote his "Dramaturgy" at Hamburg, recommended Shakspeare and other English authors as models, but more particularly, nature. The celebrated Eckhof, the father of the German stage, who at first travelled about with a company of actors and finally settled at Gotha, was the first who followed this innovation. He was succeeded

* Gothic architecture has been likened to petrified music.

† He was assisted in his dramatic writings by his wife, a woman of splendid talents.—TRANSLATOR.

by Schroeder in Hamburg, who was equally industrious as a poet, an actor, and a freemason. In Berlin, where Fleck had already paved the way, Iffland, who, like Schroeder, was both a poet and an actor, founded a school, which in every respect took nature as a guide, and which raised the German stage to its well-merited celebrity.

At the close of the eighteenth century, men of education were seized with an enthusiasm for art, which showed itself principally in a love for the stage and in visits for the promotion of art to Italy. The poet and the painter, alike dissatisfied with reality, sought to still their secret longings for the beautiful amid the unreal creations of fancy and the records of classical antiquity.

Fashion, that masker of nature, that creator of deformity, had, in truth, arrived at an unparalleled pitch of ugliness. The German costume, although sometimes extravagantly curious during the middle ages, had nevertheless always retained a certain degree of picturesque beauty, nor was it until the reign of Louis XIV. of France, that dress assumed an unnatural, inconvenient, and monstrous form. Enormous allonge-perukes and ruffles, the fontange, (high head-dress,) hoops, and high-heels, rendered the human race a caricature of itself. In the eighteenth century, powdered wigs of extraordinary shape, hairbags and queues, frocks and frills, came into fashion for the men; powdered head-dresses, an ell in height, diminutive waists, and patches for the women. The deformity, unhealthiness, and absurdity of this mode of attire were vainly pointed out by Salzmann, in a piece entitled, "Charles von Carlsberg, or Human Misery."

CCXLV. *Influence of the Belles-Lettres.*

THE German, excluded from all participation in public affairs and confined to the narrow limits of his family circle and profession, followed his natural bent for speculative philosophy and poetical reverie; but whilst his thoughts became more elevated and the loss of his activity was, in a certain degree, compensated by the gentle dominion of the muses, the mitigation thus afforded merely aggravated the evil by rendering him content with his state of inaction. Ere long, as in the most degenerate age of ancient Rome, the citizen, amused by so-

phists and singers, actors and jugglers, lost the remembrance of his former power and rights and became insensible to his state of moral degradation, to which the foreign notions, the vain and frivolous character of most of the poets of the day, had not a little contributed.

After the thirty years' war, the Silesian poets became remarkable for Gallomania or the slavish imitation of those of France. Unbounded adulation of the sovereign, bombastical *carmina* on occasion of the birth, wedding, accession, victories, fêtes, treaties of peace, and burial of potentates, love-couplets equally strained, twisted compliments to female beauty, with pedantic, often indecent, citations from ancient mythology, chiefly characterized this school of poetry. Martin Opitz, [A. D. 1639,] the founder of the first Silesian school,* notwithstanding the insipidity of the taste of the day, preserved the harmony of the German ballad. His most distinguished followers were Logau, celebrated for his Epigrams; † Paul Gerhard, who, in his fine hymns, revived the force and simplicity of Luther; Flemming, a genial and thoroughly German poet, the companion of Olearius ‡ during his visit to Persia; the gentle Simon Dach, whose sorrowing notes bewail the miseries of the age. He founded a society of melancholy poets at Königsberg, in Prussia, the members of which composed elegies for each other; Tscherning and Andrew Gryphius, the Corneille of Germany, a native of Glogau, whose dramas are worthy of a better age than the insipid century in which they were produced. The life of this dramatist was full of incident. His father was poisoned; his mother died of a broken heart. He wandered over Germany during the thirty years' war, pursued by fire, sword, and pestilence, to the latter of which the whole of his relations fell victims. He travelled over the whole of Europe, spoke eleven languages, and became a professor at Leyden, where he taught history, geography, mathematics, physics, and anatomy. These poets were, however, merely exceptions to the general rule. In the

* He was a friend of Grotius and is called the father of German poetry.—TRANSLATOR.

† Of which an edition, much esteemed, was published by Lessing and Ramler.

‡ Adam Œlschlager or Olearius, an eminent traveller and mathematician, a native of Anhalt. He became secretary to an embassy sent to Russia and Persia by the duke of Holstein.—TRANSLATOR.

poetical societies, the "Order of the Palm" or "Fructiferous Society," founded A. D. 1617, at Weimar, by Caspar von Teutleben, the "Upright Pine Society," established by Rempler of Löwenthal at Strassburg, that of the "Roses," founded A. D. 1643, by Philip von Zesen, at Hamburg, the "Order of the Pegnitz-shepherds," founded A. D. 1644, by Harsdörfer, at Nuremberg, the spirit of the Italian and French operas and academies prevailed, and pastoral poetry, in which the god of Love was represented wearing an immense allonge-peruke, and the coquettish immorality of the courts was glowingly described in Arcadian scenes of delight, was cultivated. The fantastical romances of Spain were also imitated, and the invention of novel terms was deemed the highest triumph of the poet. Every third word was either Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, or English. Francisci of Lübeck, who described all the discoveries in the New World in a colloquial romance contained in a thick folio volume, was the most extravagant of these scribblers. The romances of Antony Ulric, duke of Brunswick, who embraced Catholicism on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter with the emperor Charles VI., are equally bad. Lauremberg's satires, written A. D. 1654, are excellent. He said with great truth, that the French had deprived the German muse of her nose and had patched on another quite unsuited to German ears. Moscherosch (Philander von Sittewald) wrote an admirable and cutting satire upon the manners of the age, and Greifenson von Hirschfeld is worthy of mention as the author of the first historical romance, that gives an accurate and graphic account of the state of Germany during the thirty years' war..

This first school was succeeded by a second of surpassing extravagance. Hoffman von Hoffmannswaldau, [A. D. 1679,] the founder of the second Silesian school, was a caricature of Opitz, Lohenstein of Gryphius, Besser of Flemming, Talander and Ziegler of Zesen, and even Francisci was outdone by that most intolerable of romancers, Happel. This school was remarkable for the most extravagant licence and bombastical nonsense, a sad proof of the moral perversion of the age. The German character, nevertheless, betrayed itself by a sort of naïve pedantry, a proof, were any wanting, that the ostentatious absurdities of the poets of Germany were but bad and paltry imitations. The French Alexandrine was also brought

into vogue by this school, whose immorality was carried to the highest pitch by Günther, the lyric poet, who, in the commencement of the eighteenth century, opposed marriage, attempted the emancipation of the female sex, and, with criminal geniality, recommended his follies and crimes, as highly interesting, to the world. To him the poet, Schnabel, the author of an admirable romance, the "Island of Felsenburg," the asylum, in another hemisphere, of virtue, exiled from Europe, offers a noble contrast.

Three Catholic poets of extreme originality appear at the close of the seventeenth century, Angelus Silesius, (Scheffler of Breslau,) who gave to the world his devotional thoughts in German Alexandrines; Father Abraham a Sancta Clara, (Megerle of Swabia,) a celebrated Viennese preacher, who, with comical severity, wrote satires abounding with wit and humorous observations; and Balde, who wrote some fine Latin poems on God and nature. Prätorius, [A. D. 1680,] the first collector of the popular legendary ballads concerning Rübezahl and other spirits, ghosts and witches, also deserves mention. The Silesian, Stranizki, who [A. D. 1708] founded the Leopoldstadt theatre at Vienna, which afterwards became so celebrated, and gave to it the popular comic style, for which it is famous at the present day, was also a poet of extreme originality. Gottsched appeared as the hero of Gallomania, which was at that time threatened with gradual extinction by the Spanish and Hamburg romance and by Viennese wit. Assisted by Neuber, the actress, he extirpated all that was not strictly French, solemnly burnt harlequin in effigy at Leipzig, [A. D. 1737,] and laid down a law for German poetry, which prescribed obedience to the rules of the stilted French court-poetry, under pain of the critic's lash. He and his learned wife guided the literature of Germany for several years.

In the midst of these literary aberrations, during the first part of the foregoing century, Thomson, the English poet, Brokes of Hamburg, and the Swiss, Albert von Haller, gave their descriptions of nature to the world. Brokes, in his "Earthly Pleasures in God," was faithful, often Homeric, in his descriptions, whilst Haller depictured his native Alps with unparalleled sublimity. The latter was succeeded by a Swiss school, which imitated the witty and liberal-minded

criticisms of Addison and other English writers, and opposed French taste and Gottsched. At its head stood Bodmer and Breitinger, who recommended nature as a guide, and instead of the study of French literature, that of the ancient classics and of English authors. It was also owing to their exertions that Müller published an edition of Rudiger Maness's collection of Swabian Minnelieder, the connecting link between modern and ancient German poetry. Still, notwithstanding their merit as critics, they were no poets, and merely opened to others the road to improvement. Hagedorn, although frivolous in his ideas, was graceful and easy in his versification; but the most eminent poet of the age was Gellert of Leipzig, [A. D. 1769,] whose tales, fables, and essays brought him into such note as to attract the attention of Frederick the Great, who, notwithstanding the contempt in which he held the poets of Germany, honoured him with a personal visit.

Poets and critics now rose in every quarter and pitilessly assailed Gottsched, the champion of Gallomania. They were themselves divided into two opposite parties, into Anglomanists and Græcomanists, according to their predilection for modern English literature or for that of ancient Greece and Rome. England, grounded, as upon a rock, on her self-gained constitution, produced men of the rarest genius in all the higher walks of science and literature, and her philosophers, naturalists, historians, and poets exercised the happiest influence over their Teutonic brethren, who sought to regain from them the vigour of which they had been deprived by France. The power and national learning of Germany break forth in Klopstock, whose genius vainly sought a natural garb and was compelled to assume a borrowed form. He consecrated his muse to the service of religion, but, in so doing, imitated the Homeric hexameters of Milton; he sought to arouse the national pride of his countrymen by recalling the deeds of Hermann (Armin) and termed himself a bard, but, in the Horatian metre of his songs, imitated Ossian, the old Scottish bard, and was consequently laboured and affected in his style. Others took the lesser English poets for their model, as, for instance, Kleist, who fell at Kunersdorf, copied Thomson in his "Spring;" Zachariä, Pope, in his satirical pieces; Hermes, in "The Travels of Sophia," the humorous romances of Richardson; Müller von Itzehoe, in his "Siegfried von Lindenberg," the comic

descriptions of Smollett. The influence of the celebrated English poets, Shakspeare, Swift, and Sterne, on the tone of German humour and satire, was still greater. Swift's first imitator, Liscow, discovered considerable talent, and Rabener, a great part of whose manuscripts was burnt during the siege of Dresden in the seven years' war, wrote witty, and at the same time instructive, satires on the manners of his age. Both were surpassed by Lichtenberg, the little hump-backed philosopher of Göttingen, whose compositions are replete with grace. The witty and amiable Thümmel was also formed on an English model, and Archenholz solely occupied himself with transporting the customs and literature of England into Germany. If Shakspeare has not been without influence upon Gœthe and Schiller, Sterne, in his "Sentimental Journey," touched an echoing chord in the German's heart by blending pathos with his jests. Hippel was the first who, like him, united wit with pathos, mockery with tears.

In Klopstock, Anglo and Græcomania were combined. The latter had, however, also its particular school, in which each of the Greek and Roman poets found his imitator. Voss, for instance, took Homer for his model, Ramler, Horace, Gleim, Anacreon, Gessner, Theocritus, Cramer, Pindar, Lichtwer, Æsop, etc. The Germans, in the ridiculous attempt to set themselves up as Greeks, were, in truth, barbarians. But all was forced, unnatural, and perverted in this aping age. Wieland alone was deeply sensible of this want of nature, and hence arose his predilection for the best poets of Greece and France. The German muse, led by his genius, lost her ancient stiffness and acquired a pliant grace, to which the sternest critic of his too lax morality is not insensible. Some lyric poets, connected with the Græcomanists by the *Göttingen Hainbund*, preserved a noble simplicity, more particularly Salis and Hölty, and also Count Stolberg, wherever he has not been led astray by Voss's stilted manner. Matthison is, on the other hand, most tediously affected.

The German, never more at home than when abroad, boasted of being the cosmopolite he had become, made a virtue of necessity, and termed his want of patriotism, justice to others, humanity, philanthropy. Fortunately for him, there were, besides the French, other nations on which he could model himself, the ancient Greeks and the English, from each of

whom he gathered something until he had converted himself into a sort of universal abstract. The great poets, who shortly before and after the seven years' war, put an end to mere partial imitations, were not actuated by a reaction of nationality, but by a sentiment of universality. Their object was, not to oppose the German to the foreign, but simply the human to the single national element, and, although Germany gave them birth, they regarded the whole world equally as their country.

Lessing, by his triumph over the scholastic pedants, completed what Thomasius had begun, by his irresistible criticism drove French taste from the literary arena, aided Winckelmann to promote the study of the ancients and to foster the love of art, and raised the German theatre to an unprecedented height. His native language, in which he always wrote, breathes, even in his most trifling works, a free and lofty spirit, which, fascinating in every age, was more peculiarly so at that emasculated period. He is, however, totally devoid of patriotism. In his "Minna von Barnhelm," he inculcates the finest feelings of honour; his "Nathan" is replete with the wisdom "that cometh from above" and with calm dignity; and, in "Emilia Galotti," he has been the first to draw the veil, hitherto respected, from scenes in real life. His life was, like his mind, independent. He scorned to cringe for favour, even disdained letters of recommendation when visiting Italy, (Winckelmann had deviated from the truth for the sake of pleasing a patron,) contented himself with the scanty lot of a librarian at Wolfenbüttel, and even preferred losing that appointment rather than subject himself to the censorship. He was the boldest, freest, finest spirit of the age.

Herder, although no less noble, was exactly his opposite. Of a soft and yielding temperament, unimaginative, and gifted with little penetration, but with a keen sense of the beautiful in others, he opened to his fellow countrymen with unremitting diligence the literary treasures of foreign nations, ancient classical poetry, that, hitherto unknown, of the East, and rescued from obscurity the old popular poetry of Germany. In his "Ideas of a Philosophical History of Mankind," he attempted to display in rich and manifold variety the moral character of every nation and of every age, and, whilst thus creating and improving the taste for poetry and history, ever,

with child-like piety, sought for and revered God in all his works.

Gœthe, with a far richer imagination, possessed the elegance but not the independence of Lessing, all the softness, pathos, and universality of Herder, without his faith. In the treatment and choice of his subjects he was indubitably the greatest poet of Germany, but he was never inspired with enthusiasm except for himself. His personal vanity was excessive. His works, like the lights in his apartment at Weimar, which were skilfully disposed so as to present him in the most favourable manner to his visitors, but artfully reflect upon self. The manner in which he palliated the weaknesses of the heart, the vain inclinations, shared by his contemporaries in common with himself, rendered him the most amiable and popular author of the day. French frivolity and licence had long been practised, but they had also been rebuked. Gœthe was the first who gravely justified adultery, rendered the sentimental voluptuary an object of enthusiastic admiration, and deified the heroes of the stage, in whose imaginary fortunes the German forgot sad reality and the wretched fate of his country. His fade assumption of dignity, the art with which he threw the veil of mystery over his frivolous tendencies and made his common-place ideas pass for something incredibly sublime, naturally met with astonishing success in his wonder-seeking times.

Rousseau's influence, the ideas of universal reform, the example of England, proud and free, but still more, the enthusiasm excited by the American war of independence, inflamed many heads in Germany and raised a poetical opposition, which began with the bold-spirited Schubart, whose liberal opinions threw him into a prison, but whose spirit still breathed in his songs and roused that of his great countryman, Schiller. The first cry of the oppressed people was, by Schiller, repeated with a prophet's voice. In him their woes found an eloquent advocate. Lessing had vainly appealed to the understanding, but Schiller spoke to the heart, and if the seed, sown by him, fell partially on corrupt and barren ground, it found a fostering soil, in the warm, unadulterated hearts of the youth of both sexes. He recalled his fellow men, in those frivolous times, to a sense of self-respect, restored to innocence the power and dignity of which she had been deprived by

ridicule, and became the champion of liberty, justice, and his country, things from which the love of pleasure and the aristocratic self-complacency, exemplified in Gœthe, had gradually and completely weaned succeeding poets. Klinger, at the same time, coarsely portrayed the vices of the church and state, and Meyern extravagated in his romance "Dya-Na-Sore" on Utopian happiness. The poems of Müller, the painter, are full of latent warmth. Bürger, Pfeffel, the blind poet, and Claudius, gave utterance, in Schubart's coarse manner, to a few tame truisms. Musæus was greatly admired for his amusing popular stories. As for the rest, it seemed as though the spiritless writers of that day had found it more convenient to be violent and savage in their endless chivalric pieces and romances than, like Schiller, steadily and courageously to attack the vices and evils of their age. Their fire but ended in smoke. Babo and Ziegler alone, among the dramatists, have a liberal tendency. The spirit that had been called forth also degenerated into mere bacchanalian licence, and, in order to return to nature, the limits set by decency and custom were, as by Heinse, for instance, who thus disgraced his genius, wantonly overthrown.

In contradistinction to these wild spirits, which, whether borne aloft by their genius or impelled by ambition, quitted the narrow limits of daily existence, a still greater number of poets employed their talents in singing the praise of common life, and brought domesticity and household sentimentality into vogue. The very prose of life, so unbearable to the former, was by them converted into poetry. Although the ancient Idylls and the family scenes of English authors were at first imitated, this style of poetry retained an essentially German originality ; the hero of the modern Idyll, unlike his ancient model, was a fop tricked out with wig and cane, and the domestic hero of the tale, unlike his English counterpart, was a mere political nullity. It is perhaps well when domestic comforts replace the want of public life, but these poets hugged the chain they had decked with flowers, and forgot the reality. They forgot that it is a misfortune and a disgrace for a German to be without a country, without a great national interest, to be the most unworthy descendant of the greatest ancestors, the prey and the jest of the foreigner ; to this they were indifferent, insensible ; they laid down the maxim,

that a German has nothing more to do than "to provide for" himself and his family, no other enemy to repel than domestic trouble, no other duty than "to keep his German wife in order," to send his sons to the university, and to marry his daughters. These common-place private interests were withal merely adorned with a little sentimentality. No noble motive is discoverable in Voss's celebrated "Louisa" and Gœthe's "Hermann and Dorothea." This style of poetry was so easy, that hundreds of weak-headed men and women made it their occupation, and family scenes and plays speedily surpassed the romances of chivalry in number. The poet, nevertheless, exercised no less an influence, notwithstanding his voluntary renunciation of his privilege to elevate the sinking minds of his countrymen by the great memories of the past or by ideal images, and his degradation of poetry to a mere palliation of the weaknesses of humanity.

PART XXII.

THE GREAT WARS WITH FRANCE.

CCXLVI. *The French Revolution.*

In no other European state had despotism reached to such a pitch as in France; the people groaned beneath the heavy burthens imposed by the court, the nobility, and the clergy, and against these two estates there was no appeal, their tyranny being protected by the court, to which they had servilely submitted. The court had rendered itself not only unpopular, but contemptible, by its excessive licence, which had also spread downwards among the higher classes; the government was, moreover, impoverished by extravagance and weakened by an incapable administration, the helm of state, instead of being guided by a master-hand, having fallen under Louis XV. into that of a woman.

In France, where the ideas of modern philosophy emanated

from the court, they spread more rapidly than in any other country among the tiers-état, and the spirit of research, of improvement, of ridicule of all that was old, naturally led the people to inquire into the administration, to discover and to ridicule its errors. The natural wit of the people, sharpened by daily oppression and emboldened by Voltaire's unsparing ridicule of objects hitherto held sacred, found ample food in the policy pursued by the government, and ridicule became the weapon with which the tiers-état revenged the tyranny of the higher classes. As learning spread, the deeds of other nations, who had happily and gloriously cast off the yoke of their oppressors, became known to the people. The names of the patriots of Greece and Rome passed from mouth to mouth, and their actions became the theme of the rising generation; but more powerful than all in effect, was the example of the North Americans, who [A. D. 1783] separated themselves from their mother-country, England, and founded a republic. France, intent upon weakening her ancient foe, lent her countenance to the new republic, and numbers of her sons fought beneath her standard and bore the novel ideas of liberty back to their native land, where they speedily produced a fermentation among their mercurial countrymen.

Louis XV., a voluptuous and extravagant monarch, was succeeded by Louis XVI., a man of refined habits, pious and benevolent in disposition, but unpossessed of the moral power requisite for the extermination of the evils deeply rooted in the government. His queen, Marie Antoinette, sister to Joseph II., little resembled her brother or her husband in her tastes, was devoted to gaiety, and, by her example, countenanced the most lavish extravagance. The evil increased to a fearful degree. The taxes no longer sufficed; the exchequer was robbed by privileged thieves; an enormous debt continued to increase; and the king, almost reduced to the necessity of declaring the state bankrupt, demanded aid from the nobility and clergy, who, hitherto free from taxation, had collected the whole wealth of the empire into their hands. The aristocracy, ever blind to their true interest, refused to comply, and, by so doing, compelled the king to have recourse to the tiers-état. Accordingly, A. D. 1789, he convoked a general assembly, in which the deputies sent by the citizen and peasant classes were not only numerically equal

to those of the aristocracy, but were greatly superior to them in talent and energy, and, on the refusal of the nobility and clergy to comply with the just demands of the tiers-état, or even to hold a common sitting with their despised inferiors, these deputies declared the national assembly to consist of themselves alone, and proceeded, on their own responsibility, to scrutinize the evils of the administration and to discuss remedial measures. The whole nation applauded the manly and courageous conduct of its representatives. The Parisians, ever in extremes, revolted, and murdered the unpopular public officers; the soldiers, instead of quelling the rebellion, fraternized with the people. The national assembly, emboldened by these first successes, undertook a thorough transformation of the state, and, in order to attain the object for which they had been assembled, that of procuring supplies, declared the aristocracy subject to taxation, and sold the enormous property belonging to the church. They went still further. The people was declared the only true sovereign, and the king the first servant of the state. All distinctions and privileges were abolished, and all Frenchmen were declared equal.

The nobility and clergy, infuriated by this dreadful humiliation, imbittered the people still more against them by their futile opposition, and, at length convinced of the hopelessness of their cause, emigrated in crowds and attempted to form another France on the borders of their country in the German Rhenish provinces. Worms and Coblentz were their chief places of resort. In the latter city, they continued their Parisian mode of life at the expense of the avaricious elector of Treves, Clement Wenzel, a Saxon prince, by whose powerful minister, Dominique, they were supported, and acted with unparalleled impudence. They were headed by the two brothers of the French king, who entered into negotiation with all the foreign powers, and they vowed to defend the cause of the sovereigns against the people. Louis, who for some time wavered between the national assembly and the emigrants, was at length persuaded by the queen to throw himself into the arms of the latter, and secretly fled, but was retaken and subjected to still more rigorous treatment. The emigrants, instead of saving, hurried him to destruction.

The other European powers at first gave signs of inde-

cision. Blinded by a policy no longer suited to the times, they merely beheld in the French Revolution the ruin of a state hitherto inimical to them, and rejoiced at the event. The prospect of an easy conquest of the distracted country, however, ere long led to the resolution on their part of actively interfering with its affairs. Austria was insulted in the person of the French queen, and, as head of the empire, was bound to protect the rights of the petty Rhenish princes and nobility, who possessed property and ecclesiastical or feudal rights* on French territory, and had been injured by the new constitution. Prussia, habituated to despotism, came forward as its champion in the hope of gaining new laurels for her unemployed army. A conference took place at Pillnitz in Saxony, A. D. 1791, between the emperor Leopold and king Frederick William, at which the count D' Artois, the youngest brother of Louis XVI., was present, and a league was formed against the Revolution. The old ministers strongly opposed it. In Prussia, Herzberg drew upon himself the displeasure of his sovereign by zealously advising a union with France against Austria. In Austria, Kaunitz recommended peace, and said that were he allowed to act he would defeat the impetuous French by his "patience;" that, instead of attacking France, he would calmly watch the event and allow her, like a volcano, to bring destruction upon herself. Ferdinand of Brunswick, field-marshal of Prussia, was equally opposed to war. His fame as the greatest general of his time had been too easily gained, more by his manœuvres than by his victories, not to induce a fear on his side of being as easily deprived of it in a fresh war; but the proposal of the revolutionary party in France, within whose minds the memory

* To the archbishopric of Cologne belonged the bishopric of Strasburg, to the archbishopric of Treves, the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, Verdun, Nancy, St. Diez. Würtemberg, Baden, Darmstadt, Nassau, Pfalz-Zweibrücken, Leiningen, Salm-Salm, Hohenlohe-Bartenstein, Löwenstein-Wertheim, the Teutonic order, the knights of St. John, the immediate nobility of the empire, the bishop of Basle, etc., had, moreover, feudal rights within the French territory. The arch-chancellor, elector of Mayence, made the patriotic proposal to the imperial diet, that the empire should, now that France had, by the violation of the conditions of peace, infringed the old and shameful treaties by which Germany had been deprived of her provinces, seize the opportunity also on her part to refuse to recognise those treaties, and to regain what she had lost. This sensible proposal, however, found no one capable of carrying it into effect.

of Rossbach was still fresh, mistrustful of French skill, to nominate him generalissimo of the troops of the republic, conspired with the incessant entreaties of the emigrants to reanimate his courage; and he finally declared that, followed by the famous troops of the great Frederick, he would put a speedy termination to the French Revolution.

Leopold II. was, as brother to Marie Antoinette, greatly imbittered against the French. The disinclination of the Austrians to the reforms of Joseph II. appears to have chiefly confirmed him in the conviction of finding a sure support in the old system. He consequently strictly prohibited the slightest innovation and placed a power hitherto unknown in the hands of the police, more particularly in those of its secret functionaries, who listened to every word and consigned the suspected to the oblivion of a dungeon. This mute terrorism found many a victim. This system was, on the death of Leopold II., A. D. 1792,* publicly abolished by his son and successor, Francis II., but was ere long again carried on in secret.

Catherine II., with the view of seizing the rest of Poland, employed every art in order to instigate Austria and Prussia to a war with France, and by these means fully to occupy them in the West. The Prussian king, although aware of her projects, deemed the French an easy conquest, and that in case of necessity his armies could without difficulty be thrown into Poland. He meanwhile secured the popular feeling in Poland in his favour by concluding [A. D. 1790] an alliance with Stanislaus and giving his consent to the improved constitution established in Poland, A. D. 1791. Herzberg had even counselled an alliance with France and Poland, the latter was to be bribed with a promise of the annexation of Gallicia, against Austria and Russia; this plan was however merely whispered about for the purpose of blinding the Poles and of alarming Russia.

The bursting storm was anticipated on the part of the French by a declaration of war, A. D. 1792, and whilst Austria

* His sons were the emperor Francis II., Ferdinand, grand-duke of Tuscany, the arch-duke Charles, celebrated for his military talents, Joseph, palatine of Hungary, Antony, grand-master of the Teutonic order, who died at Vienna, A. D. 1835, John, a general, (he lived for many years in Styria,) the present imperial vicar-general of Germany, and Rayner, viceroy of Milan.—TRANSLATOR.

still remained behind for the purpose of watching Russia, Poland, and Turkey, and the unwieldy empire was engaged in raising troops, Ferdinand of Brunswick had already led the Prussians across the Rhine. He was joined by the emigrants under Condé, whose army almost entirely consisted of officers. The well-known manifesto, published by the duke of Brunswick on his entrance into France, and in which he declared his intention to level Paris with the ground should the French refuse to submit to the authority of their sovereign, was composed by Renfner, the counsellor of the embassy at Berlin. The emperor and Frederick William, persuaded that fear would reduce the French to obedience, had approved of this manifesto, which was, on the contrary, disapproved of by the duke of Brunswick, on account of its barbarity and its ill-accordance with the rules of war.* He did not, however, withdraw his signature on its publication. The effect of this manifesto was, that the French, instead of being struck with terror, were maddened with rage, deposed their king, proclaimed a republic, and flew to arms in order to defend their cities against the barbarians threatening them with destruction. The Orleans party and the Jacobins, who were in close alliance with the German Illuminati, were at that time first able to gain the mastery and to supplant the noble-spirited constitutionists. A Prussian baron, Anacharsis Cloots,† was even elected in the national convention of the French republic, where he appeared as the advocate of the whole human race. These atheistical babblers, however, talked to little purpose, but the national pride of the troops, hastily levied and sent against the invaders, effected wonders.

* Gentz, who afterwards wrote so many manifestoes for Austria, practically remarks that this celebrated manifesto was in perfect conformity with the intent, and that the only fault committed was the non-fulfilment of the threats therein contained.

† From Cleve. He compared himself with Anacharsis the Scythian, a barbarian, who visited Greece for the sake of learning. He sacrificed the whole of his property to the Revolution. Followed by a troop of men dressed in the costumes of different nations, of whom they were the pretended representatives, he appeared before the convention, from which he demanded the liberation of the whole world from the yoke of kings and priests. He became president of the great Jacobin club, and it was principally owing to his instigations that the French, at first merely intent upon defence, were roused to the attack and inspired with the desire for conquest.

The delusion of the Prussians was so complete that Bischofswerder said to the officers, "Do not purchase too many horses, the affair will soon be over;" and the duke of Brunswick remarked, "Gentlemen, not too much baggage, this is merely a military trip."

The Prussians, it is true, wondered that the inhabitants did not, as the emigrants had alleged they would, crowd to meet and greet them as their saviours and liberators, but at first they met with no opposition. The noble-spirited Lafayette, who commanded the main body of the French army, had at first attempted to march upon Paris for the purpose of saving the king, but the troops were already too much republicanized and he was compelled to seek refuge in the Netherlands, where he was, together with his companions, seized by command of the emperor of Austria, and thrown into prison at Olmütz, where he remained during five years under the most rigorous treatment merely on account of the liberality of his opinions, because he wanted a constitutional king, and notwithstanding his having endangered his life and his honour in order to save his sovereign. Such was the hatred with which high-minded men of strict principle were at that period viewed, whilst at the same time a negotiation was carried on with Dumouriez,* a characterless Jacobin intriguant, who had succeeded Lafayette in the command of the French armies.

Ferdinand of Brunswick now became the dupe of Dumouriez, as he had formerly been that of the emigrants. In the hope of a counter-revolution in Paris, he procrastinated his advance and lost his most valuable time in the siege of fortresses. Verdun fell: three beautiful citizens' daughters, who had presented bouquets to the king of Prussia, were afterwards sent to the guillotine by the republicans as traitoresses to their country. Ferdinand, notwithstanding this success, still delayed his advance in the hope of gaining over the wily French commander and of thus securing beforehand his triumph in a contest in which his ancient fame might other-

* Dumouriez proposed as negotiator John Müller, who was at that time teaching at Mayence, and who was in secret correspondence with him. Vide Memoirs of a Celebrated Statesman, edited by Rüder. Rüder remarks that John Müller is silent in his autobiography concerning his correspondence with the Jacobins, for which he might, under a change of circumstances, have had good reason.

wise be at stake. The impatient king, who had accompanied the army, spurred him on, but was, owing to his ignorance of military matters, again pacified by the reasons alleged by the cautious duke. Dumouriez, consequently, gained time to collect considerable reinforcements and to unite his forces with those under Kellermann of Alsace. The two armies came within sight of each other at Valmy; the king gave orders for battle, and the Prussians were in the act of advancing against the heights occupied by Xellermann, when the duke suddenly gave orders to halt and drew off the troops under a loud *vivat* from the French, who beheld this movement with astonishment. The king was at first greatly enraged, but was afterwards persuaded by the duke of the prudence of this extraordinary step. Negotiations were now carried on with increased spirit. Dumouriez, who, like Kaunitz, said that the French, if left to themselves, would inevitably fall a prey to intestine convulsions, also contrived to accustom the king to the idea of a future alliance with France. The result of these intrigues was an armistice and the retreat of the Prussian army, which dysentery, bad weather, and bad roads rendered extremely destructive.

Austria was now, owing to the intrigues of the duke of Brunswick and the credulity of Frederick William, left unprotected. As early as June, old Marshal Lukner invaded Flanders, but, being arrested on suspicion, was replaced by Dumouriez, who continued the war in the Netherlands and defeated the stadtholder, Albert, duke of Saxon-Teschen, (son-in-law to Maria Theresa, in consideration of which he had been endowed with the principality of Teschen and the stadtholdership at Brussels,) at Jemappes, and the whole of the Netherlands fell into the hands of the Jacobins, who, on the 14th of November, entered Brussels, where they proclaimed liberty and equality. A few days later (19th November) the national convention at Paris proclaimed liberty and equality to all nations, promised their aid to all those who asserted their liberty, and threatened to compel those who chose to remain in slavery to accept of liberty. As a preliminary, however, the Netherlands, after being declared free, were ransacked of every description of movable property, of which Pache, a native of Freiburg in Switzerland, at that time the French minister of war, received a large share. The fluctua-

tions of the war, however, speedily recalled the Jacobins. Another French army under Custines, which had marched to the Upper Rhine, gained time to take a firm footing in Mayence.

CCXLVII. *German Jacobins.*

In Lorraine and Alsace, the Revolution had been hailed with delight by the long-oppressed people. On the 10th of July, 1789, the peasants destroyed the park of the bishop, Rohan, at Zabern, and killed immense quantities of game. The chateaux and monasteries throughout the country were afterwards reduced to heaps of ruins, and, in Suntgau, the peasants took especial vengeance on the Jews, who had, in that place, long lived on the fat of the land. Mülhausen received a democratic constitution and a Jacobin club. In Strassburg, the town-house was assailed by the populace,* notwithstanding which, order was maintained by the mayor, Dietrich. The unpopular bishop, Rohan, was replaced by Brendel, against whom the people of Colmar revolted, and even assaulted him in the church for having taken the oath imposed by the French republic, and which was rejected by all good Catholics. Dietrich, aided by the great majority of the citizens of Strassburg, long succeeded in keeping the *sans culottes* at bay, but was at length overcome, deprived of his office, and guillotined at Paris, whilst Eulogius Schneider, who had formerly been a professor at Bonn, then court preacher to the Catholic duke, Charles of Würtemberg,† became the tyrant of Strassburg, and, in the character of public accuser before the revolutionary tribunal, conducted the executions. The national convention at Paris nominated as his colleague Monet, a man twenty-four years of age, totally ignorant of the German language, and who merely made himself remarkable for his open

* Oberlin, the celebrated philologist, an ornament to German learning, a professor at Strassburg, rescued, at the risk of his life, a great portion of the ancient city archives, which had been thrown out of the windows, by re-collecting the documents with the aid of the students. On account of this sample of old German pedantry, he pined, until 1793, in durance vile at Metz, and narrowly escaped being guillotined.

† At Bonn he had the impudence to say to the elector, "I cannot pay you a higher compliment than by asserting that you are no Catholic."—*Van Alpen, History of Rhenish Franconia.*

rapacity.* This was, however, a mere prelude to far greater horrors. Two members of the convention, St. Just and Lebas, unexpectedly appeared at Strassburg, declared that nothing had as yet been done, ordered the executions to take place on a larger scale, and [A. D. 1793] imposed a fine of 9,000,000 livres on the already plundered city. The German costume and mode of writing were also prohibited; every sign, written in German, affixed to the houses, was taken down, and, finally, the whole of the city council and all the officers of the national guard were arrested and either exiled or guillotined, notwithstanding their zealous advocacy of revolutionary principles, on the charge of an understanding with Austria, without proof, on a mere groundless suspicion, without being permitted to defend themselves, for the sole purpose of removing them out of the way in order to replace them with true-born Frenchmen, a Parisian mob, who established themselves in the desolate houses. Schneider and Brendel continued to retain their places by means of the basest adulation. On the 21st of November, a great festival was solemnized in the Minster, which had been converted into a temple of Reason. The bust of Marat, the most loathsome of all the monsters engendered by the Revolution, was borne in solemn procession to the cathedral, before whose portals an immense fire was fed with pictures and images of the saints, crucifixes, priests' garments, and sacred vessels, among which Brendel hurled his mitre. Within the cathedral walls, Schneider delivered a discourse in controversion of the Christian religion, which he concluded by solemnly renouncing; a number of Catholic ecclesiastics followed his example. All the statues and ecclesiastical symbols were piled in a rude heap at the foot of the great tower, which it was also attempted to pull down for the promotion of universal equality, an attempt, which the extraordinary strength of the building and the short reign of revolutionary madness fortunately frustrated. All the more wealthy citizens had, meanwhile, been consigned either to the guillotine or to prison, and their houses filled with French bandits, who revelled in their wealth and dis-

* He mulcted the brewers to the amount of 255,000 livres, "on account of their well-known avarice," the bakers and millers to that of 314,000, a publican to that of 10,000, a baker to that of 30,000, "because he was an enemy of mankind," etc.—*Vide Friese's History of Strassburg.*

honoured their wives and daughters. Eulogius Schneider was compelled to seek at midnight for a wife, suspicion having already attached to him on account of his former profession. It was, however, too late. On the following morning, he was seized and sent to Paris, where he was guillotined. All ecclesiastics, all schoolmasters, even the historian, Friese, were, without exception, declared suspected and dragged to the prisons of Besançon, where they suffered the harshest treatment at the hands of the commandant, Prince Charles of Hesse. In Strassburg, Neumann, who had succeeded Schneider as public accuser, raged with redoubled fury. The guillotine was ever at work, was illuminated during the night-time, and was the scene of the orgies of the drunken bandits. On the advance of the French armies to the frontiers, the whole country was pillaged.*

In other places, where the plundering habits of the French had not cooled the popular enthusiasm, it still rose high, more particularly at Mayence. This city, which had been rendered a seat of the Muses by the elector, Frederick Charles, was in a state of complete demoralization. On the loss of Strassburg, Mayence, although the only remaining bulwark of Germany, was entirely overlooked. The war had already burst forth; no imperial army had as yet been levied, and the fortifications of Mayence were in the most shameful state of neglect. Magazines had been established by the imperial troops on the left bank of the Rhine, seemingly for the mere purpose of letting them fall into the hands of Custine; but eight hundred Austrians garrisoned Mayence; the Hessians, although numerically weak, were alone sincere in their efforts for the defence of Germany. Custine's advanced guard no sooner came in sight than the elector and all the higher functionaries fled to Aschaffenburg. Von Gymnich, the commandant of Mayence, called a council of war and surrendered the city, which was unanimously declared untenable by all present with the exception of Eikenmaier, who, notwithstanding, went forthwith over to the French, and Andujar, the commander of the eight hundred Austrians, with whom he instantly evacuated the place. The Illuminati, who were here in great number,

* It was asserted that the Jacobins had formed a plan to depopulate the whole of Alsace and to divide the country among the bravest soldiers belonging to the republican armies.

triumphantly opened the gates to the French, A. D. 1792. The most extraordinary scenes were enacted. A society, the members of which preached the doctrines of liberty and equality, and at whose head stood the professors Blau, Wedekind, Metternich, Hoffmann, Forster, the eminent navigator, the doctors Böhmer and Stamm, Dorsch of Strassburg, etc., chiefly men who had formerly been Illuminati, was formed in imitation of the revolutionary Jacobin club at Paris.* These people committed unheard of follies. At first, notwithstanding their doctrine of equality, they were distinguished by a particular ribbon; the women, insensible to shame, wore girdles with long ends, on which the word "liberty" was worked in front, and the word "equality" behind. Women, girt with sabres, danced frantically around tall trees of liberty, in imitation of those of France, and fired off pistols. The men wore monstrous moustaches in imitation of those of Custine, whom, notwithstanding their republican notions, they loaded with servile flattery. As a means of gaining over the lower orders among the citizens, who with plain good sense opposed their apish tricks, the clubbists demolished a large stone, by which the Archbishop Adolphus had formerly sworn, "You,

* John Müller played a remarkable part. This thoroughly deceptive person had, by his commendation of the ancient Swiss in his affectedly written History of Switzerland, gained the favour of the friends of liberty, and, at the same time, that of the nobility by his encomium on the degenerate Swiss aristocracy. Whilst with sentimental phrases and fine words he pretended to be one of the noblest of mankind, he was addicted to the lowest and most monstrous vices. His immorality brought him into trouble in Switzerland, and the man, who had been, apparently, solely inspired with the love of republican liberty, now paid court, for the sake of gain, to foreign princes; the adulation that had succeeded so well with all the lordlings of Switzerland was poured into the ears of all the potentates of Europe. He even rose to great favour at Rome by his flattery of the pope in a work entitled "The Travels of the Popes." He published the most virulent sophisms against the beneficial reforms of the emperor Joseph, and cried up the League, for which he was well paid. He contrived, at the same time, to creep into favour with the Illuminati. He was employed by the elector of Mayence to carry on negotiations with Dumouriez, got into office under the French republic, and afterwards revisited Mayence for the express purpose of calling upon the citizens, at that time highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the French, to unite themselves with France. Vide Forster's Correspondence. Dumouriez shortly afterwards went over to the Austrians, and Müller suddenly appeared at Vienna, adorned with a title and in the character of an Aulic counsellor.

citizens of Mayence, shall not regain your privileges until this stone shall melt." This, however, proved as little effective as did the production of a large book, in which every citizen, desirous of transforming the electorate of Mayence into a republic, was requested to inscribe his name. Notwithstanding the threat of being treated, in case of refusal, as slaves, the citizens and peasantry, plainly foreseeing that, instead of receiving the promised boon of liberty, they would but expose themselves to Custine's brutal tyranny, withheld their signatures, and the clubbists finally established a republic under the protection of France without the consent of the people, removed all the old authorities, and, at the close of 1792, elected Dorsch, a remarkably diminutive, ill-favoured man, who had formerly been a priest, president.

The manner in which Custine levied contributions in Frankfurt on the Maine,* was still less calculated to render the French popular in Germany. Cowardly as this general was, he, nevertheless, told the citizens of Frankfurt a truth that time has, up to the present period, confirmed. "You have beheld the coronation of the emperor of Germany? Well! you will not see another."

Two Germans, natives of Colmar in Alsace, Rewbel and Hausmann, and a Frenchman, Merlin, all three members of the national convention, came to Mayence for the purpose of conducting the defence of that city. They burnt symbolically all the crowns, mitres, and escutcheons of the German empire, but were unable to induce the citizens of Mayence to declare in favour of the republic. Rewbel, infuriated at their opposition, exclaimed, that he would level the city with the ground, that he should deem himself dishonoured were he to waste another word on such slaves. A number of refractory persons were expelled the city,† and, on the 17th of March, 1793, al-

* Whilst in his proclamations he swore by all that was sacred (what was so to a Frenchman?) to respect the property of the citizens and that France coveted no extension of territory.

† Forster was so blinded at that time by his enthusiasm that he wrote, "all of those among us who refuse the citizenship of France, are to be expelled the city, even if complete depopulation should be the result." He relates: "I summoned, at Grünstadt, the Counts von Leiningen to acknowledge themselves citizens of France. They protested against it, caballed, instigated the citizens and peasantry to revolt; one of my soldiers was attacked and wounded. I demanded a reinforcement, took

though three hundred and seventy of the citizens alone voted in its favour, a Teuto-Rhenish national convention, under the presidency of Hoffmann, was opened at Mayence and instantly declared in favour of the union of the new republic with France. Forster, in other respects a man of great elevation of mind, forgetful, in his enthusiasm, of all national pride, personally carried to Paris the scandalous documents in which the French were humbly entreated to accept of a province of the German empire. The Prussians, who had remained in Luxemburg, (without aiding the Austrians,) meanwhile advanced to the Rhine, took Coblentz, which Custine had neglected to garrison, (a neglect for which he afterwards lost his head,) repulsed a French force under Bournonville, when on the point of forming a junction with Custine, at Treves, expelled Custine from Frankfurt,* and closely besieged Mayence, which, after making a valiant defence, was compelled to capitulate in July.

Numbers of the clubbists fled, or were saved by the French when evacuating the city, in the disguise of soldiers. Others were arrested and treated with extreme cruelty. Every clubbist, or any person suspected of being one, received five and twenty lashes in the presence of Kalkreuth, the Prussian general. Metternich was, together with numerous others, carried off, chained fast between the horses of the hussars, and, whenever he sank from weariness, spurred on at the sabre point. Blau had his ears boxed by the Prussian minister, Stein.† A similar reaction took place at Worms,‡ Spires, etc.

The German Jacobins suffered the punishment amply deserved by all those who look for salvation from the foreigner. Those who had barely escaped the vengeance of the Prussian on the Rhine were beheaded by their pretended good friends in France. Robespierre, an advocate, who, at that period,

possession of both the castles, and placed the counts under guard. To-day I sent them with an escort to Landau. This has been a disagreeable duty, but we must reduce every opponent of the good cause to obedience."

* Where the weak garrison left by the French was disarmed by the workmen.

† Either the Prussian minister who afterwards gained such celebrity, or one of his relations.

‡ Where Skekuly forced the German clubbists, with the lash, to cut down the tree of liberty.

governed the convention, sent every foreigner who had enrolled himself as a member of the Jacobin club, to the guillotine, as a suspicious person, a bloody but instructive lesson to all unpatriotic German Gallomanists.* The victims who fell on this occasion were, a prince of Salm-Kyrburg, who had voluntarily republicanized his petty territory, Anacharsis Cloots,† the venerable Trenk, who had so long pined in Frederick's prisons. Adam Lux, a friend of George Forster, was also beheaded for expressing his admiration of Charlotte Corday, the murderess of Marat. Marat was a Prussian subject, being a native of Neufchâtel. Göbel von Bruntrut, uncle to Rengger,‡ a celebrated character in the subsequent Swiss revolution, vicar-general of Basle, a furious revolutionist, who had on that account been appointed bishop of Paris, presented himself on the 6th of November, 1793, at the bar of the convention as an associate of Cloots, Hebert, Chaumette, etc., cast his mitre and other insignia of office to the ground, and placing the bonnet rouge on his head, solemnly renounced the Christian faith and proclaimed that of "liberty and equality." The rest of the ecclesiastics were compelled to imitate his example; the Christian religion was formally abolished and the worship of Reason was established in its stead. Half-naked women were placed upon the altars of the desecrated churches and worshipped as "goddesses of Reason."

* Forster wrote from Paris, "Suspicion hangs over every foreigner, and the essential distinctions which ought to be made in this respect are of no avail." Thus did nature, by whom nations are eternally separated, avenge herself on the fools who had dreamed of universal equality.

† Cloots had incessantly preached war, threatened all the kings of the earth with destruction, and, in his vanity, had even set a price upon the head of the Prussian monarch. His object was the union of the whole of mankind, the abolition of nationality. The French were to receive a new name, that of "Universel." He preached in the convention: "I have struggled during the whole of my existence against the powers of heaven and earth. There is but one God, Nature, and but one sovereign, mankind, the people, united by reason in one universal republic. Religion is the last obstacle, but the time has arrived for its destruction. J'occupe la tribune de l'univers. Je le repète, le genre humain est Dieu, le *Peuple Dieu.* Quiconque a la débilité de croire en Dieu ne sauroit avoir la sagacité de connaitre le genre humain, le souverain unique," etc. —*Moniteur of* 1793. No. 120. He also subscribed himself the "personal enemy of Jesus of Nazareth."

‡ Whose nephew, the celebrated traveller, Rengger, was, with Bonpland, so long imprisoned in Paraguay.

Göbel's friend, Pache, a native of Freiburg, a creature abject as himself, was particularly zealous, as was also Proli, a natural son of the Austrian minister, Kaunitz. Prince Charles of Hesse, known among the Jacobins as Charles Hesse, fortunately escaped. Schlaberndorf,* a Silesian count, who appears to have been a mere spectator, and Oelsner, a distinguished author, were equally fortunate. These two latter remained in Paris. Reinhard, a native of Würtemberg, secretary to the celebrated Girondin, Vergniaud, whom he is said to have aided in the composition of his eloquent speeches, remained in the service of France, was afterwards ennobled and raised to the ministry. Felix von Wimpfen, whom the faction of the Gironde (the moderates who opposed the savage Jacobins) elected their general, and who, attempting to lead a small force from Normandy against Paris, was defeated and compelled to seek safety by flight. The venerable Lukner, the associate of Lafayette, who had termed the great Revolution merely "a little occurrence in Paris," was beheaded. The unfortunate George Forster perceived his error and died of sorrow.† Among the other Rhenish Germans of distinction, who had at that time formed a connexion with France, Joseph Görres brought himself, notwithstanding his extreme youth, into great note at Coblentz by his superior talents. He went to Paris as deputy of Treves and speedily became known by his works (Rübezahl and the Red Leaf.) He also speedily discovered the immense mistake made by the Germans in resting their hopes upon France. It was indeed a strange delusion to suppose the vain and greedy Frenchman capable of being inspired with disinterested love for all mankind, and it was indeed a severe irony, that, after such repeated and cruel experience, after having for centuries seen the French ever

* He had been already imprisoned and was ordered to the guillotine, but not being able to find his boots quickly enough, his execution was put off until the morrow. During the night, Robespierre fell, and his life was saved. He continued to reside at Paris, where he never quitted his apartment, cherished his beard, and associated solely with ecclesiastics.

† After an interview with his wife, Theresa, (daughter to the great philologist, Heyne of Göttingen,) on the French frontier, he returned to Paris and killed himself by drinking aquafortis. Vide Crome's Autobiography. Theresa entered into association with Huber, the journalist, whom she shortly afterwards married. She gained great celebrity by her numerous romances.

in the guise of robbers and pillagers, and after breathing such loud complaints against the princes who had sold Germany to France, that the warmest friends of the people should on this occasion be guilty of similar treachery, and, like selecting the goat for a gardener, intrust the weal of their country to the French.

The people in Germany too little understood the real motives and object of the French Revolution, and were too soon provoked by the predatory incursions of the French troops, to be infected with revolutionary principles. These merely fermented among the literati; the Utopian idea of universal fraternization was spread by free-masonry; numbers at first cherished a hope that the Revolution would preserve a pure moral character, and were not a little astonished on beholding the monstrous crimes to which it gave birth. Others merely rejoiced at the fall of the old and insupportable system, and numerous anonymous pamphlets in this spirit appeared in the Rhenish provinces. Fichte, the philosopher, also published an anonymous work in favour of the Revolution. Others again, as, for instance, Reichard, Girtanner, Schirach, and Hoffmann, set themselves up as informers, and denounced every liberal-minded man to the princes as a dangerous Jacobin. A search was made for Cripto-Jacobins, and every honest man was exposed to the calumny of the servile newspaper-editors. French republicanism was denounced as criminal, notwithstanding the favour in which the French language and French ideas were held at all the courts of Germany. Liberal opinions were denounced as criminal, notwithstanding the example first set by the courts in ridiculing religion, in mocking all that was venerable and sacred. Nor was this reaction by any means occasioned by a burst of German patriotism against the tyranny of France, for the treaty of Basle speedily reconciled the self-same newspaper-editors with France. It was mere servility; and the hatred which, it may easily be conceived, was naturally excited against the French as a nation, was vented in this mode upon the patient Germans,* who were, unfortunately, ever doomed, whenever

* The popular work "Huergelmer" relates, among other things, the conduct of the Margrave of Baden towards Lauchsenring, his private physician, whom he, on account of the liberality of his opinions, delivered over to the Austrian general, who sentenced him to the bastinado.

their neighbours were visited with some political chronic convulsion, to taste the bitter remedy. But few of the writers of the day took an historical view of the Revolution and weighed its irremediable results in regard to Germany, besides Gentz, Rehberg, and the Baron von Gagern, who published an "Address to his Countrymen," in which he started the painful question, "Why are we Germans disunited?" The whole of these contending opinions of the learned were, however, equally erroneous. It was as little possible to preserve the Revolution from blood and immorality, and to extend the boon of liberty to the whole world, as it was to suppress it by force, and, as far as Germany was concerned, her affairs were too complicated and her interests too scattered for any attempt of the kind to succeed. A Doctor Faust, at Bückeburg, sent a learned treatise upon the origin of trowsers to the national convention at Paris, by which Sans-culottism had been introduced; an incident alone sufficient to show the state of feeling in Germany at that time.

The revolutionary principles of France merely infected the people in those parts of Germany where their sufferings had ever been the greatest, as, for instance, in Saxony, where the peasantry, oppressed by the game-laws and the rights of the nobility, rose, after a dry summer, by which their misery had been greatly increased, to the number of eighteen thousand, and sent one of their class to lay their complaints before the elector, A. D. 1790. The unfortunate messenger was instantly consigned to a mad-house, where he remained until 1809, and the peasantry were dispersed by the military. A similar revolt of the peasantry against the tyrannical nuns of Wormelen, in Westphalia, merely deserves mention as being characteristic of the times. A revolt of the peasantry, of equal unimportance, also took place in Bückeburg, on account of the expulsion of three revolutionary priests, Froriep, Meyer, and Rauschenbusch. In Breslau, a great émeute, which was put down by means of artillery, was occasioned by the expulsion of a tailor's apprentice, A. D. 1793.

In Austria, one Hebenstreit formed a conspiracy, which brought him to the gallows, A. D. 1793. That formed by Martinowits, for the establishment of the sovereignty of the people in Hungary and for the expulsion of the magnates, was of a more dangerous character. Martinowits was beheaded A. D.

1793, with four of his associates.* These attempts so greatly excited the apprehensions of the government, that the reaction, already begun on the death of Joseph II., was brought at once to a climax; Thugut, the minister, established an extremely active secret police and a system of surveillance, which spread terror throughout Austria and was utterly uncalled for, no one, with the exception of a few crack-brained individuals, being in the slightest degree infected with the revolutionary mania.†

* Schneller says, "The first great conspiracy was formed in the vicinity of the throne, A. D. 1793. The chief conspirator was Hebenstreit, the commandant, who held, by his office, the keys to the arsenal, and had every place of importance in his power. His fellow conspirators were, Prandstätter, the magistrate and poet, who, by his superior talents, led the whole of the magistracy, and possessed great influence in the metropolis, Professor Riedl, who possessed the confidence of the court, which he frequented for the purpose of instructing some of the principal personages, and Häckel, the merchant, who had the management of its pecuniary affairs. The rest of the conspirators belonged to every class of society and were spread throughout every province of the empire. The plan consisted in the establishment of a democratic constitution, the first step to which appears to have been an attempt against the life of the imperial family. The signal for insurrection was to be given by firing the immense wood-yards. The hearts of the people were to be gained by the destruction of the government accounts. The discovery was made through a conspiracy formed in Denmark. The chief conspirator was seized and sent to the gallows. The rest were exiled to Munkatch, where several of them had succumbed to the severity of their treatment and of the climate when their release was effected by Buonaparte by the peace of Campo Formio, which gave rise to the supposition that the Hebenstreit conspiracy was connected with the French republicans and Jacobins.—— The second conspiracy was laid in Hungary, by the bishop and abbot, Josephus Ignatius Martinowits, a man whom the emperors Joseph, Leopold, and Francis had, on account of his talent and energy, loaded with favours. The plan was an *actionalis conspiratio*, for the purpose of contriving an attempt against the sacred person of his Majesty the king, the destruction of the power of the privileged classes in Hungary, the subversion of the administration, and the establishment of a democracy. The means for the execution of this project were furnished by two secret societies. Huergelmer relates: "A certain Dr. Plank somewhat thoughtlessly ridiculed the institution of the jubilee; in order to convince him of its utility, he was sent as a recruit to the Italian army, an act that was highly praised by the newspapers." On the 22nd July, 1795, a Baron von Riedel was placed in the pillory at Vienna for some political crime, and was afterwards consigned to the oblivion of a dungeon; the same fate, some days later, befell Brandstetter, Fellesneck, Billeck, Ruschitiski (Ephemeridæ of 1795). A Baron Taufner was hanged at Vienna as a traitor to his country (E. of 1796).

† "The increase of crime occasioned by the artifices of the police, who

It may be recorded as a matter of curiosity, that, during the blood-stained year of 1793, the petty prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt held, as though in the most undisturbed time of peace, a magnificent tournament, and the fêtes customary on such an occasion.

CCXLVIII. *Loss of the left bank of the Rhine.*

THE object of the Prussian king was either to extend his conquests westwards or, at all events, to prevent the advance of Austria. The war with France claimed his utmost attention, and, in order to guard his rear, he again attempted to convert Poland into a bulwark against Russia.

His ambassador, Lucchesini, drove Stackelberg, the Russian envoy, out of Warsaw, and promised mountains of gold to the Poles, who dissolved the perpetual council associated by Russia with the sovereign, freed themselves from the Russian guarantee; aided by Prussia, compelled the Russian troops to evacuate the country; devised a constitution, which they laid before the cabinets of London and Berlin; concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia on the 29th of March, 1790, and, on the 3rd of May, 1791, carried into effect the new constitution ratified by England and Prussia, and approved of by the emperor Leopold. During the conference, held at Pilnitz, the indivisibility of Poland was expressly mentioned. The constitution was monarchical. Poland was, for the future, to be an hereditary instead of an elective monarchy, and, on the death of Poniatowsky, the crown was to fall to Saxony. The modification of the peasants' dues and the power conceded to the serf of making a private agreement with his lord also gave the monarchy a support against the aristocracy.

thereby gained their livelihood, rendered an especial statute, prohibitory of such measures, necessary in the new legislature. Even the passing stranger perceived the disastrous effect of their intrigues upon the open, honest character and the social habits of the Viennese. The police began gradually to be considered as a necessary part of the machine of government, a counterbalance to or a remedy for the faults committed by other branches of the administration. Large sums, the want of which was heavily felt in the national education and in the army, were expended on this arsenal of poisoned weapons."—*Hormayr's Pocket-book*, 1832. Thugut is described as a diminutive, hunch-backed old man, with a face resembling the mask of a fawn and with an almost satanic expression.

Catherine of Russia, however, no sooner beheld Prussia and Austria engaged in a war with France, than she commenced her operations against Poland, declared the new Polish constitution French and Jacobinical, notwithstanding its abolition of the *liberum veto* and its extension of the prerogatives of the crown, and, taking advantage of the king's absence from Prussia, speedily regained possession of the country. What was Frederick William's policy in this dilemma? He was strongly advised to make peace with France, to throw himself at the head of the whole of his forces into Poland, and to set a limit to the insolence of the autocrat; but—he feared, should he abandon the Rhine, the extension of the power of Austria in that quarter, and—calculating that Catherine, in order to retain his friendship, would cede to him a portion of her booty,* unhesitatingly broke the faith he had just plighted with the Poles, suddenly took up Catherine's tone, declared the constitution, he had so lately ratified, Jacobinical, and despatched a force under Möllendorf into Poland in order to secure possession of his stipulated prey. By the second partition of Poland, which took place as rapidly, as violently, and, on account of the assurances of the Prussian monarch, far more unexpectedly than the first, Russia received the whole of Lithuania, Podolia, and the Ukraine, and Prussia, Thorn and Dantzig, besides Southern Prussia (Posen and Calisch). Austria, at that time fully occupied with France, had no participation in this robbery, which was, as it were, committed behind her back.

Affairs had worn a remarkably worse aspect since the campaign of 1792. The French had armed themselves with all the terrors of offended nationalism and of unbounded, intoxicating liberty. All the enemies of the Revolution within the French territory were mercilessly exterminated, and hundreds of thousands were sacrificed by the guillotine, a machine invented for the purpose of accelerating the mode of execution. The king was beheaded in this manner in the January of 1793, and the queen shared a similar fate in the ensuing October.† Whilst Robespierre directed the executions, Carnot

* Prussia chiefly coveted the possession of Dantzig, which the Poles refused to give or the English to grant to him, and which he could only seize by the aid of Russia.

† After having been long retained in prison, ill fed and ill clothed, after

undertook to make preparations for war, and, in the very midst of this immense fermentation, calmly converted France into an enormous camp, and more than a million Frenchmen, as if summoned by magic from the clod, were placed under arms.

The sovereigns of Europe also prepared for war, and [A. D. 1793] formed the first great coalition, at whose head stood England, intent upon the destruction of the French navy. The English, aided by a large portion of the French population, devoted to the ancient monarchy, attacked France by sea, and made a simultaneous descent on the northern and southern coasts. The Spanish and Portuguese troops crossed the Pyrenees; the Italian princes invaded the Alpine boundary; Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the German empire threatened the Rhenish frontier, whilst Sweden and Russia stood frowning in the back-ground. The whole of Christian Europe took up arms against France, and enormous armies hovered, like vultures, around their prey.

The duke of Coburg commanded the main body of the Austrians in the Netherlands, where he was at first merely opposed by the old French army, whose general, Dumouriez, after unsuccessfully grasping at the supreme power, entered into a secret agreement with the coalition, allowed himself to be defeated at Aldenhoven * and Neerwinden, and finally deserted to the Austrians. At this moment, when the French army was dispirited by defeat and without a leader, Coburg, who had been reinforced by the English and Dutch under the Duke of York, might, by a hasty advance, have taken Paris by surprise, but both the English and Austrian generals solely owed the command, for which they were totally unfit, to their high birth, and Colonel Mack, the most prominent character among the officers of the staff, was a mere theoretician, who could cleverly enough conduct a campaign—upon paper. Clairfait, the Austrian general, beat the disbanded French army under Dampiere at Famars, but temporized instead of following up

supporting, with unbending dignity, the unmanly insults of the republican mob before whose tribunal she was dragged. The young dauphin expired under the ill-treatment he received from his guardian, a shoemaker. His sister, the present Duchess d'Angouleme, was spared.

* Where the peasantry, infuriated at the depredations of the French, cast the wounded and the dead indiscriminately into a trench.—*Benzenberg's Letters.*

his victory. Coburg, in the hope of the triumph of the moderate party, the Girondins, published an extremely mild and peaceable proclamation, which, on the fall of the Gironde, was instantly succeeded by one of a more threatening character, which his want of energy and decision in action merely rendered ridiculous. No vigorous attack was made, nor was even a vigorous defence calculated upon, not one of the frontier forts in the Netherlands, demolished by Joseph II., having been rebuilt. The coalition foolishly trusted that the French would be annihilated by their inward convulsions, whilst they were in reality seizing the opportunity granted by the tardiness of their foes to levy raw recruits and exercise them in arms. The principal error, however, lay in the system of conquest pursued by both Austria and England. Condé, Valenciennes, and all towns within the French territory taken by Coburg were compelled to take a formal oath of allegiance to Austria, and England made, as the condition of her aid, that of the Austrians for the conquest of Dunkirk. The siege of this place, which was merely of importance to England in a mercantile point of view, retained the armies of Coburg and York, and the French were consequently enabled, in the mean time, to concentrate their scattered forces and to act on the offensive. Ere long, Houchard and Jourdan pushed forwards with their wild masses, which, at first undisciplined and unsteady, were merely able to screen themselves from the rapid and sustained fire of the British, by acting as tirailleurs, (a mode of warfare successfully practised by the North Americans against the serried ranks of the English,) became gradually bolder, and finally, by their numerical strength and republican fury, gained a complete triumph. Houchard, in this manner, defeated the English at Hondscoten, (September 8th,) and Jourdan drove the Austrians off the field at Wattignies on the 16th of October, the day on which the French queen was beheaded. Coburg, although the Austrians had maintained their ground on every other point, resolved to retreat, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the youthful archduke, Charles, who had greatly distinguished himself. During the retreat, an unimportant victory was gained at Menin by Beaulieu, the imperial general.* His colleague, Wurmser,

* The Hanoverian general, Hammerstein, and his adjutant Scharnhorst, who afterwards became so noted, made a gallant defence. When

nevertheless maintained with extreme difficulty the line extending from Basle to Luxemburg, which formed the Prussian outposts. A French troop under Delange advanced as far as Aix-la-Chapelle, where they crowned the statue of Charlemagne with a bonnet rouge.

Mayence was, during the first six months of this year, besieged by the main body of the Prussian army under the command of Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick. The Austrians, when on their way past Mayence to Valenciennes with a quantity of heavy artillery destined for the reduction of the latter place, (which they afterwards compelled to do homage to the emperor,) refusing the request of the king of Prussia for its use *en passant* for the reduction of Mayence, greatly displeased that monarch, who clearly perceived the common intention of England and Austria to conquer the north of France to the exclusion of Prussia, and consequently revenged himself by privately partitioning Poland with Russia, and refusing his assistance to General Wurms in the Vosges country. The dissensions between the allies again rendered their successes null. The Prussians, after the conquest of Mayence, [A. D. 1793,] advanced and beat the fresh masses led against them by Moreau at Pirmasens, but Frederick William, disgusted with Austria and secretly far from disinclined to peace with France, quitted the army, (which he maintained in the field, merely from motives of honour, but allowed to remain in a state of inactivity,) in order to visit his newly acquired territory in Poland.

The gallant old Wurmser was a native of Alsace, where he had some property, and fought meritoriously for the German cause, whilst so many of his countrymen at that time ranged themselves on the side of the French.* His position on the

the city became no longer tenable, they boldly sallied forth at the head of the garrison and escaped.

* Rewbel, one of the five directors of the great French republic, and several of the most celebrated French generals, Germany's unwearied foes, were natives of Alsace, as, for instance, the gallant Westermann, one of the first leaders of the republican armies; the intrepid Kellermann, the soldier's father; the immortal Kleber, generalissimo of the French forces in Egypt, who fell by the dagger of a fanatical Mussulman; and the undaunted Rapp, the hero of Dantzig. The lion-hearted Ney, justly designated by the French as the bravest of the brave, was a native of Lorraine. These were, one and all, men of tried metal, but whose German names induce the demand, "Why did they fight for France?"

celebrated Weissenburg line was, owing to the non-assistance of the Prussians, replete with danger, and he consequently endeavoured to supply his want of strength by striking his opponents with terror. His Croats, the notorious *Rothmäntler*, are charged with the commission of fearful deeds of cruelty. Owing to his system of paying a piece of gold for every Frenchman's head, they would rush, when no legitimate enemy could be encountered, into the first large village at hand, knock at the windows and strike off the heads of the inhabitants as they peeped out. The petty principalities on the German side of the Rhine also complained of the treatment they received from the Austrians. But how could it be otherwise? The empire slothfully cast the whole burthen of the war upon Austria. Many of the princes were terror-stricken by the French, whilst others meditated an alliance with that power, like that formerly concluded between them and Louis XIV. against the empire. Bavaria alone was, but with great difficulty, induced to furnish a contingent. The weak imperial free towns met with most unceremonious treatment at the hands of Austria. They were deprived of their artillery and treated with the utmost contempt. It often happened that the aristocratic magistracy, as, for instance, at Ulm, sided with the soldiery against the citizens. The slothful bishops and abbots of the empire were, on the other hand, treated with the utmost respect by the Catholic soldiery. The infringement of the law of nations by the arrest of Semonville, the French ambassador to Constantinople, and of Maret, the French ambassador to Naples, and the seizure of their papers on neutral ground, in the Veltlin, by Austria, created a far greater sensation.

The duke of Brunswick, who had received no orders to retreat, was compelled *bongré-malgré*, to hazard another engagement with the French, who rushed to the attack. He was once more victorious, at Kaiserslautern, over Hoche, whose untrained masses were unable to withstand the superior discipline of the Prussian troops. Wurmser took advantage of the moment when success seemed to restore the good humour of the allies to coalesce with the Prussians, dragging the unwilling Bavarians in his train. This junction, however,

Wurmser belonged to the same old Strassburg family which had given birth to Wurmser, the celebrated court-painter of the emperor, Charles IV.

merely had the effect of disclosing the jealousy rankling on every side. The greatest military blunders were committed and each blamed the other. Landau ought to and might have been rescued from the French; but this step was procrastinated until the convention had charged Generals Hoche and Pichegru, "Landau or death." These two generals brought a fresh and numerous army into the field, and, in the very first engagements, at Wörth and Fröschweiler, the Bavarians ran away and the Austrians and Prussians were signally defeated. The retreat of Wurmser, in high displeasure, across the Rhine afforded a welcome pretext to the duke of Brunswick to follow his example and even to resign the command of the army to Möllendorf. In this shameful manner was the left bank of the Rhine lost to Germany.

In the spring of the ensuing year, 1794, the emperor Francis II. visited the Netherlands in person, with the intent of pushing straight upon Paris. This project, practicable enough during the preceding campaign, was, however, now utterly out of the question, the more so, on account of the retreat of the Prussians. The French observed on this occasion with well-merited scorn: "The allies are ever an idea, a year and an army behindhand." The Austrians, nevertheless, attacked the whole French line in March and were at first victorious on every side, at Catillon, where Kray and Wernek distinguished themselves, and at Landrecis, where the Archduke Charles made a brilliant charge at the head of the cavalry. Landrecis was taken. But this was all. Clairfait, whose example might have animated the inactive Duke of York, being left unsupported by the British, was attacked singly at Kortryk by Pichegru and forced to yield to superior numbers. Coburg fought an extremely bloody but indecisive battle at Doornik, (Tournay,) where Pichegru ever opposed fresh masses to the Austrian artillery. Twenty thousand dead strewed the field. The youthful emperor, discouraged by the coldness displayed by the Dutch, whom he had expected to rise *en masse* in his cause, returned to Vienna. His departure and the inactivity of the British commander completely dispirited the Austrian troops, and on the 26th of June, 1794,*

* The Austrian generals, Beaulieu, Quosdanowich, and the Archduke Charles, who, at that period, laid the foundation to his future fame, had pushed victoriously forwards and taken Fleurus, when the ill-timed

the duke of Coburg was defeated at Fleurus by Jourdan, the general of the republic. This success was immediately followed by that of Pichegru, not far from Breda, over the inefficient English general,* who consequently evacuated the Netherlands, which were instantly overrun by the pillaging French. And thus had the German powers, notwithstanding their well-disciplined armies and their great plans, not only forfeited their military honour, but also drawn the enemy, and, in his train, anarchy with its concomitant horrors, into the empire. The Austrians had rendered themselves universally unpopular by their arbitrary measures, and each province remained stupidly indifferent to the threatened pillage of its neighbour by the victorious French. Jourdan but slowly tracked the retreating forces of Coburg, whom he again beat at Sprimont, where he drove him from the Maese, and at Aldenhoven, where he drove him from the Roer. Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, capitulated at Maestricht, with ten thousand men, to Kleber; and the Austrians, with the exception of a small corps under the Count von Erbach, stationed at Düsseldorf, completely abandoned the Lower Rhine.

The disasters suffered by the Austrians seem at that time to have flattered the ambition of the Prussians; for Mollendorf suddenly recrossed the Rhine and gained an advantage at Kaiserslautern, but was, in July, 1794, again repulsed at Trippstadt, notwithstanding which he once more crossed the Rhine in September, and a battle was won by the Prince von Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen at Fischbach, but, on the coalition of Jourdan with Hoche, who had until then singly opposed him, Mollendorf again, and for the last time, retreated across the Rhine. The whole of the left bank of the Rhine, Luxemburg and Mayence alone excepted, were now in the hands of the French. Resius, the Hessian general, abandoned the Rhein-

orders, as they are deemed, of the generalissimo Coburg compelled them to retreat. Quosdanowich dashed his sabre furiously on the ground and exclaimed, "The army is betrayed, the victory is ours, and yet we must resign it. Adieu, thou glorious land, thou garden of Europe, the house of Austria bids thee eternally adieu!" The French had, before and during the action, made use of a balloon for the purpose of watching the movements of the enemy.

* The worst spirit prevailed among the British troops; the officers were wealthy young men, who had purchased their posts and were, in the highest degree, licentious. Vide Dietfurth's Hessian Campaigns.

fels with the whole garrison, without striking a blow in its defence. He was, in reward, condemned to perpetual imprisonment.* Jourdan converted the fortress into a ruined heap. The whole of the fortifications on the Rhine were yielded for the sake of saving Mannheim from bombardment.

In the Austrian Netherlands, the old government had already been abolished, and the whole country been transformed into a Belgian republic by Dumouriez. The reform of all the

* Peter Hammer, in his "Description of the Imperial Army," published A. D. 1796, at Cologne, graphically depictures the sad state of the empire. The imperial troops consisted of the dregs of the populace, so variously arranged as to justify the remark of Colonel Sandberg of Baden, that the only thing wanting was their regular equipment as jack-puddings. A monastery furnished two men; a petty barony, the ensign; a city, the captain. The arms of each man differed in calibre. No patriotic spirit animated these defenders of the empire. The anonymous author remarks: "For love of one's country to be felt, there must, first of all, be a country; but Germany is split into petty useless monarchies, chiefly characterized by their oppression of their subjects, by pride, slavery, and unutterable weakness. Formerly, when Germany was attacked, each of her sons made ready for battle, her princes were patriotic and brave. Now, may Heaven have pity on the land; the princes, the counts, and nobles march hence and leave their country to its fate. The Margrave of Baden—I do not speak of the prince bishop of Spires and of other spiritual lords whose profession forbids their laying hand to sword—the Landgrave of Darmstadt and other nobles fled on the mere report of an intended visit from the French, by which they plainly intimated that they merely hold sovereign rule for the purpose of being fattened by their subjects in time of peace. Danger no sooner appears than the miserable subject is left to his own resources. *Germany is divided into too many petty states.* How can an elector of the Pfalz, or indeed any of the still lesser nobility, protect the country? Unity, moreover, is utterly wanting. The Bavarian regards the Hessian as a stranger, not as his countryman. Each petty territory has a different tariff, administration, and laws. The subject of one petty state cannot travel half a mile into a neighbouring one without leaving behind him great part of his property. The bishop of Spires strictly forbids his subjects to intermarry with those of any other state. And patriotism is expected to result from these measures! The subject of a despot, whose revenues exceed those of his neighbours by a few thousand florins, looks down with contempt on the slave of a poorer prince. Hence the boundless hatred between the German courts and their petty brethren, hence the malicious joy caused by the mishaps of a neighbouring dynasty." Hence the wretchedness of the troops. "With the exception of the troops belonging to the circle, there were none to defend the frontiers of the empire. Grandes battues, balls, operas, and mistresses, swallowed up the revenue, not a farthing remained for the erection of fortresses, the want of which was so deeply felt, for the defence of the frontiers."

ancient evils, so vainly attempted but a few years before by the noble-spirited emperor, Joseph II., was successfully executed by this insolent Frenchman, who also abolished with them all that was good in the ancient system. The city deputies, it is true, made an energetic but futile resistance.* After the flight of Dumouriez, fresh depredations were, with every fresh success, committed by the French. Liege was reduced to the most deplorable state of desolation, the cathedral and thirty splendid churches were levelled with the ground by the ancient enemies of the bishop. Treves was also mercilessly sacked and converted into a French fortress.

CCXLIX. *The defection of Prussia. The Archduke Charles.*

FREDERICK William's advisers, who imagined the violation of every principle of justice and truth an indubitable proof of instinctive and consummate prudence, unwittingly played a high and hazardous game. Their diplomatic absurdity, which weighed the fate of nations against a dinner, found a confusion of all the solid principles on which states rest as stimulating as the piquant ragouts of the great Ude. Lucchesini, with his almost intolerable airs of sapience, as artfully veiled his incapacity in the cabinet as Ferdinand of Brunswick did his in the field, and to this may be ascribed the measures which but momentarily and seemingly aggrandized Prussia and prepared her deeper fall. Each petty advantage gained by Prussia but served to raise against her some powerful foe,

* "How can France, with her solemn assurances of liberty, arbitrarily interfere with the government of a country already possessing a representative elected by the people? How can she proclaim us as a free nation, and, at the same moment, deprive us of our liberty? Will she establish a new mythology of nations and divide the different people on the face of the earth, according to their strength, into nations and half-nations?"—*Protest of the provisional Council of the City of Brussels. The president, Theodore Dotrenge.*——"Every free nation gives to itself laws, does not receive them from another."—*Protest of the City of Antwerp. President of the Council, Van Dun.*——"You confiscate alike public and private property. That have even our former tyrants never ventured to do when declaring us rebels, and you say that you bring to us liberty."—*Protest of the Hennegau.*——The most copious account of the revolutionizing of the Netherlands is contained in Rau's History of the Germans in France, and of the French in Germany. Frankfurt a M., 1794 and 95.

and finally, when placed by her policy at enmity with every sovereign of Europe, she was induced to trust to the shallow friendship of the French republic.

The Poles, taken unawares by the second partition of their country, speedily recovered from their surprise and collected all their strength for an energetic opposition. Kosciuszko, who had, together with Lafayette, fought in North America in the cause of liberty, armed his countrymen with scythes, put every Russian who fell into his hands to death, and attempted the restoration of ancient Poland. How easily might not Prussia, backed by the enthusiasm of the patriotic Poles, have repelled the Russian colossus, already threatening Europe! But the Berlin diplomatists had yet to learn the homely truth, that "honesty is the best policy." They aided in the aggrandizement of Russia, drew down a nation's curse upon their heads for the sake of an addition to the territory of Prussia, the maintenance of which cost more than its revenue, and violated the Divine commands during a period of storm and convulsion, when the aid of Heaven was indeed required. The ministers of Frederick William II. were externally religious, but those of Frederick William I., by whom the Polish question had been so justly decided, were so in reality.

The king led his troops in person into Poland, and, in June, 1794, defeated Kosciuszko's scythemen at Szczekociny, but met with such strenuous opposition in his attack upon Warsaw as to be compelled to retire in September.* On the retreat of the Prussian troops, the Russians, who had purposely awaited their departure in order to secure the triumph for themselves, invaded the country in great force under their bold general, Suwaroff, who defeated Kosciuszko, took him prisoner, and besieged Warsaw, which he carried by storm. On this occasion, termed by Reichard "a peaceful and merciful entry of the clement victor," eighteen thousand of the inhabitants of every age and sex were cruelly put to the sword. The result of this success was the third partition or utter

* The following trait proves the complete stagnation of chivalric feeling in the army. Szekuli, colonel of the Prussian hussars, condemned several patriotic ladies, belonging to the highest Polish families at Znawraziaw, to be placed beneath the gallows, in momentary expectation of death, until it, at length, pleased him to grant a reprieve, couched in the most offensive and indecent terms.

annihilation of Poland. Russia took possession of the whole of Lithuania and Volhynia, as far as the Riemen and the Bug; Prussia, of the whole country west of the Riemen, including Warsaw; Austria, of the whole country south of the Bug [A. D. 1795]. An armyof German officials, who earned for themselves not the best of reputations, settled in the Prussian division. They were ignorant of the language of the country, and enriched themselves by tyranny and oppression. Von Treibenfeld, the counsellor to the forest-board, one of Bischofswerder's friends, bestowed a number of confiscated lands upon his adherents.

The ancient Polish feof of Courland was, in consequence of the annihilation of Poland, incorporated with the Russian empire, Peter, the last duke, the son of Biron, being compelled to abdicate, A. D. 1795.

Pichegru invaded Holland late in the autumn of 1794. The Duke of York had already returned to England. A line of defence was, nevertheless, taken up by the British, under Wallmoden, by the Dutch under their hereditary stadtholder, William V. of Orange, and by an Austrian corps under Alvinzi; the Dutch were, however, panic-struck, and negotiated a separate treaty with Pichegru,* who, at that moment, solely aimed at separating the Dutch from their allies; but when, in December, all the rivers and canals were suddenly frozen, and nature no longer threw unconquerable obstacles in his path, regardless of the negotiations then pending in Paris, he unexpectedly took up arms, marched across the icebound waters, and carried Holland by storm. With him marched the anti-Orangemen, the exiled Dutch patriots, under General Daendels and Admiral de Winter, with the pretended view of restoring ancient republican liberty to Holland and of expelling the tyrannical Orange dynasty. The British (and some Hessian troops) were defeated at Thiel on the Waal; Alvinzi met with a similar fate at Pondern and was compelled to retreat into Westphalia. Some English ships, which lay frozen up in the harbour, were captured by the French hussars. A most

* A most disgraceful treaty. William's enemies, the fugitive patriots, had promised the French, in return for their aid, sixty million florins of the spoil of their country. William, upon this, promised to pay to France a subsidy of eighty millions, in order to guarantee the security of his frontier, but was instantly outbid by the base and self-denominated patriots, who offered to France a hundred million florins in order to induce her to invade their country.

manly resistance was made; but no aid was sent from any quarter. Prussia, who so shortly before had ranged herself on the side of the stadtholder against the people, was now an indifferent spectator. William V. was compelled to flee to England. Holland was transformed into a Batavian republic. Hahn, Hoof, etc. were the first furious Jacobins by whom every thing was there formed upon the French model. The Dutch were compelled to cede Maestricht, Venloo, and Vliessingen; to pay a hundred millions to France, and, moreover, to allow their country to be plundered, to be stripped of all the splendid works of art, pictures, etc., (as was also the case in the Netherlands and on the Rhine,) and even of the valuable museum of natural curiosities collected by them with such assiduity in every quarter of the globe. These depredations were succeeded by a more systematic mode of plunder. Holland was mercilessly drained of her enormous wealth. All the gold and silver bullion was first of all collected; this was followed by the imposition of an income-tax of six per cent., which was afterwards repeated, and was succeeded by a sliding income-tax from three to thirty per cent. The British, at the same time, destroyed the Dutch fleet in the Texel commanded by de Winter, in order to prevent its capture by the French, and seized all the Dutch colonies, Java alone excepted. The flag of Holland had vanished from the seas.

In August, A. D. 1794, the reign of terror in France reached its close. The moderate party which came into power gave hopes of a general peace, and Frederick William II. without loss of time negotiated a separate treaty, suddenly abandoned the monarchical cause which he had formerly so zealously upheld, and offered his friendship to the revolutionary nation, against which he had so lately hurled a violent manifesto. The French, with equal inconsistency on their part, abandoned the popular cause, and, after having murdered their own sovereign and threatened every European throne with destruction, accepted the alliance of a foreign king. Both parties, notwithstanding the contrariety of their principles and their mutual animosity, were conciliated by their political interest. The French, solely bent upon conquest, cared not for the liberty of other nations; Prussia, intent upon self-aggrandizement, was indifferent to the fate of her brother sovereigns. Peace was concluded between France and Prussia at Basle,

April 5, 1795. By a secret article of this treaty, Prussia confirmed the French republic in the possession of the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, whilst France in return richly indemnified Prussia at the expense of the petty German states. This peace, notwithstanding its manifest disadvantages, was also acceded to by Austria, which, on this occasion, received the unfortunate daughter of Louis XVI. in exchange for Semonville and Maret, the captive ambassadors of the republic, and the members of the Convention seized by Dumouriez. Hanover* and Hesse-Cassel participated in the treaty and were included within the line of demarcation, which France, on her side, bound herself not to transgress.

The countries lying beyond this line of demarcation, the Netherlands, Holland, and Pfalz-Juliers, were now abandoned to France, and Austria, kept in check on the Upper Rhine, was powerless in their defence. In this manner fell Luxemburg and Düsseldorf. All the Lower Rhenish provinces were systematically plundered by the French under pretext of establishing liberty and equality.† The Batavian republic was permitted to subsist, but dependent upon France; Belgium was annexed to France, A. D. 1795.

* Von Berlepsch, the counsellor of administration, proposed to the Calemberg diet to declare their neutrality in defiance of England, and, in case of necessity, to place "the Calemberg Nation" under the protection of France.—*Havemann.*

† "Wherever these locusts appear, every thing, men, cattle, food, property, etc., is carried off. These thieves seize every thing convertible into money. Nothing is safe from them. At Cologne, they filled a church with coffee and sugar. At Aix-la-Chapelle, they carried off the finest pictures of Rubens and Van Dyck, the pillars from the altar, and the marble-slab from the tomb of Charlemagne, all of which they sold to some Dutch Jews."—*Posselt's Annals of* 1796. At Cologne, the nuns were instantly emancipated from their vows, and one of the youngest and most beautiful afterwards gained great notoriety as a bar-maid at an inn. This scandalous story is related by Kleber in his Travels on the Rhine. In Bonn, Gleich, a man who had formerly been a priest, placed himself at the head of the French rabble and planted trees of liberty. He also gave to the world a decade, as he termed his publication.—*Müller, History of Bonn.* "The French proclaimed war against the palaces and peace to the huts, but no hut was too mean to escape the rapacity of these birds of prey. The first-fruits of liberty was the pillage of every corner."—*Schwaben's History of Siegburg.* The brothers Boisserée afterwards collected a good many of the church pictures, at that period carried away from Cologne and more particularly from the Lower Rhine. They now adorn Munich and form the best collection of old German paintings now existing.

On the retreat of the Prussians, Mannheim was surrendered without a blow by the electoral minister, Oberndorf, to the French. Wurmser arrived too late to the relief of the city. Quosdanowich, his lieutenant-general, nevertheless, succeeded in saving Heidelberg by sheltering himself behind a great abattis at Handschuchsheion, whence he repulsed the enemy, who were afterwards almost entirely cut to pieces by General Klenau, whom he sent in pursuit with the light cavalry. General Boros led another Austrian corps across Nassau to Ehrenbreitstein, at that time besieged by the French under their youthful general, Marceau, who instantly retired. Wurmser no sooner arrived in person, than, attacking the French before Mannheim, he completely put them to the rout and took General Oudinot prisoner. Clairfait, at the same time, advanced unperceived upon Mayence, and unexpectedly attacking the besieging French force, carried off one hundred and thirty-eight pieces of heavy artillery. Pichegru, who had been called from Holland to take the command on the Upper Rhine, was driven back to the Vosges. Jourdan advanced to his aid from the Lower Rhine, but his van-guard under Marceau was defeated at Kreuznach and again at Meissenheim. Mannheim also capitulated to the Austrians. The winter was now far advanced; both sides were weary of the campaign, and an armistice was concluded. Austria, notwithstanding her late success, was, owing to the desertion of Prussia, in a critical position. The imperial troops also refused to act. The princes of Southern Germany longed for peace. Even Spain followed the example of Prussia and concluded a treaty with the French republic.

The consequent dissolution of the coalition between the German powers had at least the effect of preventing the formation of a coalition of nations against them by the French. Had the alliance between the sovereigns continued, the French would, from political motives, have used their utmost endeavours to revolutionize Germany; this project was rendered needless by the treaty of Basle, which broke up the coalition and confirmed France in the undisturbed possession of her liberties; and thus it happened, that Prussia unwittingly aided the monarchical cause by involuntarily preventing the promulgation of the revolutionary principles of France.

Austria remained unshaken, and refused either to betray

the monarchical cause by the recognition of a revolutionary democratical government, or to cede the frontiers of the empire to the youthful and insolent generals of the republic. Conscious of the righteousness of the cause she upheld, she intrepidly stood her ground and ventured her single strength in the mighty contest, which the campaign of 1796 was to decide. The Austrian forces in Germany were commanded by the emperor's brother, the Archduke Charles; those in Italy, by Beaulieu. The French, on the other hand, sent Jourdan to the Lower Rhine, Moreau to the Upper Rhine, Buonaparte to Italy, and commenced the attack on every point with their wonted impetuosity.

The Austrians had again extended their lines as far as the Lower Rhine. A corps under Prince Ferdinand of Würtemberg was stationed in the Bergland, in the narrow corner still left between the Rhine and the Prussian line of demarcation. Marceau forced him to retire as far as Altenkirchen, but the Archduke Charles hastening to his assistance, encountered Jourdan's entire force on the Lahn near Kloster Altenberg, and, after a short contest, compelled it to give way. A great part of the Austrian army of the Rhine under Wurmser, having been, meanwhile, drawn off and sent into Italy, the archduke was compelled to turn hastily from Jourdan against Moreau, who had just despatched General Ferino across the lake of Constance, whilst he advanced upon Strassburg. A small Swabian corps under Colonel Raglowich made an extraordinary defence in Kehl, (the first instance of extreme bravery given by the imperial troops at that time,) but was forced to yield to numbers. The Austrian general, Sztarray, was, notwithstanding the gallantry displayed on the occasion, also repulsed at Sasbach; the Würtemberg battalion was also driven from the steep pass of the Kniebes,* across which Moreau penetrated through the Black Forest into the heart of Swabia, and had already reached Freudenstadt, when the Austrian general, Latour, marched up the Murg. He was, however, also repulsed. The Archduke Charles now arrived in

* "Had Würtemberg possessed but six thousand well-organized troops, the position on the Roszbuhl might have been maintained, and the country have been saved. The millions since paid by Würtemberg, and which she may still have to pay, would have been spared."—*Appendix to the History of the Campaign of* 1796.

person in the country around Pforzheim, (on the skirts of the Black Forest,) and sent forward his columns to attack the French in the mountains, but in vain; the French were victorious at Rothensol and at Wildbad. The archduke retired behind the Neckar to Cannstadt; his rear-guard was pursued through the city of Stuttgard by the van-guard of the French. After a short cannonade, the archduke also abandoned his position at Cannstadt. The whole of the Swabian circle submitted to the French. Würtemberg was now compelled to make a formal cession of Mümpelgard, which had been for some time garrisoned by the French,* and, moreover, to pay a contribution of four million livres; Baden was also mulcted two millions, the other states of the Swabian circle twelve millions, the clergy seven millions, altogether twenty-five million livres, without reckoning the enormous requisition of provisions, horses, clothes, etc. The archduke, in the mean time, deprived the troops belonging to the Swabian circle of their arms at Biberach, on account of the peace concluded by their princes with the French, and retired behind the Danube by Donauwoerth. Ferino had, meanwhile, also advanced from Hüningen into the Breisgau and to the lake of Constance, had beaten the small corps under General Fröhlick at Herbolsheim and the remnant of the French emigrants under Condé at Mindelheim,† and joined Moreau in pursuit of the archduke. His troops committed great havoc wherever they appeared.‡

* The duke, Charles, had, in 1791, visited Paris, donned the national cockade, and bribed Mirabeau with a large sum of money to induce the French government to purchase Mümpelgard from him. The French, however, were quite as well aware as the duke that they would ere long possess it gratis.

† Moreau generously allowed all his prisoners, who, as ex-nobles, were destined to the guillotine, to escape.

‡ Armbruster's "Register of French Crime" contains as follows: "Here and there, in the neighbouring towns, there were certainly symptoms of an extremely favourable disposition towards the French, which would ill deserve a place in the annals of German patriotism and of —— German good sense. This disposition was fortunately far from general. The appearance of the French in their real character, and the barbarous excesses and heavy contributions by which they rendered the people sensible of their presence, speedily effected their conversion." The French, it is true, neither murdered the inhabitants nor burnt the villages as they had during the previous century in the Pfalz, but they pillaged the country to a greater extent, shamefully abused the women, and desecrated the churches. Their licence and the art with which they extorted the last

Jourdan had also again pushed forwards. The archduke had merely been able to oppose to him on the Lower Rhine thirty thousand men under the Count von Wartensleben, which, owing to Jourdan's numerical superiority, had been repulsed across both the Lahn and Maine. Jourdan took Frankfurt by bombardment and imposed upon that city a contribution of six millions. The Franconian circle also submitted and paid sixteen millions, without reckoning the requisition of natural productions and the merciless pillage.*

The Archduke Charles, too weak singly to encounter the armies of Moreau and Jourdan, had, meanwhile, boldly resolved to keep his opponents as long as possible separate, and, on the first favourable opportunity, to attack one with the whole of his forces, whilst he kept the other at bay with a small division of his army. In pursuance of this plan, he sent Wartensleben against Jourdan, and, meanwhile, drew Moreau after him into Bavaria, where, leaving General Latour with a small corps to keep him in check at Rain on the Lech, he recrossed the Danube at Ingolstadt with the flower of his army and hastily advanced against Jourdan, who was thus taken unawares. At Teiningen, he surprised the French avant-garde under Bernadotte, which he compelled to retire. At Amberg, he encountered Jourdan, whom he completely routed, A. D. 1796. The French retreated through the city, on the other side of which they formed an immense square

penny from the wretched people surpassed all belief. "Not satisfied with robbing the churches, they especially gloried in giving utterance to the most fearful blasphemies, in destroying and profaning the altars, in overthrowing the statues of saints, in treading the host beneath their feet or casting it to dogs.—At the village of Berg in Weingarten, they set up in the holy of holies the image of the devil, which they had taken from the representation of the temptation of the Saviour in the wilderness. In the village of Boos, they roasted a crucifix before a fire."—*Vide Hurter's Memorabilia, concerning the French allies in Swabia, who attempted to found an Alemannic Republic. Schaffhausen*, 1840. Moreau reduced them to silence by declaring, "I have no need of a revolution to the rear of my army."

* Notwithstanding Jourdan's proclamation, promising protection to all private property, Würzburg, Schweinfurt, Bamberg, etc. were completely pillaged. The young girls fled in hundreds to the woods. The churches were shamelessly desecrated. When mercy in God's name was demanded, the plunderers replied, "God! we are God!" They would dance at night-time around a bowl of burning brandy, whose blue flames they called their être suprême.—*The French in Franconia, by Count Soden.*

against the imperial cavalry under Wernek; it was broken on the third charge, and a terrible slaughter took place, three thousand of the French being killed and one thousand taken prisoner. The peasantry had already flown to arms, and assisted in cutting down the fugitives. Jourdan again made a stand at Würzburg, where Wernek stormed his batteries at the head of his grenadiers and a complete rout ensued, September 3rd. The French lost six thousand dead and two thousand prisoners. The peasantry rose *en masse*, and hunted down the fugitives.* On the Upper Rhone, Dr. Röder placed himself at the head of the peasantry, but, encountering a superior French corps at Mellrichstadt, was defeated and killed. The French suffered most in the Spessart, called by them, on that account, La petite Vendée. The peasantry were here headed by an aged forester, named Philip Witt, and, protected by their forests, exterminated numbers of the flying foe. The imperial troops were also unremitting in their pursuit, again defeated Bernadotte at Aschaffenburg and chased Jourdan through Nassau across the Rhine. Marceau, who had vainly besieged Mayence, again made stand at Allerheim, where he was defeated and killed.†

Moreau, completely deceived by the archduke, had, meanwhile, remained in Bavaria. After defeating General Latour at Lechhausen, instead of setting off in pursuit of the archduke and to Jourdan's aid, he was, as the archduke had foreseen, attracted by the prospect of gaining a rich booty, in an opposite direction, towards Munich. Bavaria submitted to the French, paid ten millions, and ceded twenty of the most valuable pictures belonging to the Düsseldorf and Munich galleries. The news of Jourdan's defeat now compelled Moreau to beat a rapid retreat in order to avoid being cut off by the victorious archduke. Latour set off vigorously in pursuit,

* "They deemed the assassination of a foreigner a meritorious work."—*Ephemeridæ of* 1797. "The peasantry, roused to fury by the disorderly and cruel French, whose excesses exceeded all belief, did not even extend mercy to the wounded; and the French, with equal barbarity, set whole villages on fire."—*Appendix to the Campaign of* 1796.

† When scarcely in his twenty-seventh year. He was one of the most distinguished heroes of the Revolution, and as remarkable for his generosity to his weaker foes as for his moral and chivalric principles. The Archduke Charles sent his private physicians to attend upon him, and, on the occasion of his burial, fired a salvo simultaneously with that of the French stationed on the opposite bank of the Rhine.—*Mussinan.*

came up with him at Ulm and again at Ravensburg, but was both times repulsed, owing to his numerical inferiority. A similar fate awaited the still smaller imperial corps led against the French by Nauendorf at Rothweil and by Petrosch at Villingen, and Moreau led the main body of his army in safety through the deep narrow gorges of the Höllenthal in the Black Forest to Freiburg in the Breisgau, where he came upon the archduke, who, amid the acclamations of the armed peasantry, (by whom the retreating French* were, as in the Spessart, continually harassed in their passage through the Black Forest,) had hurried, but too late, to his encounter. Moreau had already sent two divisions of his army, under Ferino and Desaix, across the Rhine at Hüningen and Breisach, and covered their retreat with the third by taking up a strong position at Schliesgen, not far from Freiburg, whence, after braving a first attack, he escaped during the night to Hüningen. This retreat, in which he had saved his army with comparatively little loss, excited general admiration, but in Italy there was a young man, who scornfully exclaimed, "It was, after all, merely a retreat!"

CCL. *Bonaparte.*

This youth was Napoleon Bonaparte, the son of a lawyer in the island of Corsica, a man of military genius, who, when a mere lieutenant, had raised the siege of Toulon, had afterwards served the Directory by dispersing the old Jacobins with his artillery in the streets of Paris, and had been intrusted with the command of the army in Italy. Talents, that under a monarchy would have been doomed to obscurity, were, under the French republic, called into notice, and men of decided genius could, amid the general competition, alone attain to power or retain the reins of government.

Bonaparte was the first to take the field. In the April of

* The peasants of the Artenau and the Kinzigthal were commanded by a wealthy farmer, named John Baader. Besides several French generals, Hausmann, the commissary of the government, who accompanied Moreau's army, was taken prisoner.—*Mussinan, History of the French War of* 1796, etc. A decree, published on the 18th of September by Frederick Eugene, Duke of Würtemberg, in which he prohibited his subjects from taking part in the pursuit of the French, is worthy of remark.

1796, he pushed across the Alps and attacked the Austrians. Beaulieu, a good general but too old for service, (he was then 72, Napoleon but 27,) had incautiously extended his lines too far in order to preserve a communication with the English fleet in the Mediterranean. Bonaparte defeated his scattered corps at Montenotte and Millesimo, between the 10th and 15th of April, and, turning sharply upon the equally scattered Sardinian force, beat it in several engagements, the principal of which took place at Mondovi, between the 19th and 22nd of April. An armistice was concluded with Sardinia, and Beaulieu, who vainly attempted to defend the Po, was defeated on the 7th and 8th of May, at Fombio. The bridge over the Adda at Lodi, three hundred paces in length, extremely narrow and to all appearance impregnable, defended by his lieutenant Sebottendorf, was carried by storm, and, on the 15th of May, Bonaparte entered Milan. Beaulieu took up a position behind the Mincio, notwithstanding which, Bonaparte carried the again ill-defended bridge at. Borghetto by storm. Whilst in this part of the country, he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by a party of skirmishers, and was compelled to fly half-naked, with but one foot booted, from his night-quarters at St. Georgio.

Beaulieu now withdrew into the Tyrol. Sardinia made peace, and terms were offered by the pope and by Naples. Leghorn was garrisoned with French troops; all the English goods lying in this harbour, to the value of twelve million pounds, were confiscated. The strongly fortified city of Mantua, defended by the Austrians under their gallant leader, Canto d'Irles, was besieged by Bonaparte. A fresh body of Austrian troops under Wurmser, crossed the mountains to their relief; but Wurmser, instead of advancing with his whole force, incautiously pressed forward with thirty-two thousand men through the valley of the Etsch, while Quasdanowich led eighteen thousand along the western shore of the lake of Garda. Bonaparte instantly perceived his advantage, and, attacking the latter, defeated him, on the 3rd of August, at Lonato. Wurmser had entered Mantua unopposed on the 1st, but, setting out in search of the enemy, was unexpectedly attacked, on the 5th of August, by the whole of Bonaparte's forces at Castiglione, and compelled, like Quasdanowich, to seek shelter in the Tyrol. This senseless mode of attack had been planned by Weirotter,

a colonel belonging to the general staff. Wurmser now received reinforcements, and Laner, the general of the engineers, was intrusted with the projection of a better plan. He again weakened the army by dividing his forces. In the beginning of September, Davidowich penetrated with twenty thousand men through the valley of the Etsch and was defeated at Roveredo, and Wurmser, who had, meanwhile, advanced with an army of twenty-six thousand men through the valley of the Brenta, met with a similar fate at Bassano. He, nevertheless, escaped the pursuit of the victorious French by making a circuit, and threw himself by a forced march into Mantua, where he was, however, unable to make a lengthy resistance, the city being over-populated and provisions scarce. A fresh army of twenty-eight thousand men, under Alvinzi, sent to his relief* through the valley of the Brenta, was attacked in a strong position at Arcole, on the river Alpon. Two dams protected the bank and a narrow bridge, which was, on the 15th of November, vainly stormed by the French, although General Augereau and Bonaparte, with the colours in his hand, led the attack. On the following day, Alvinzi foolishly crossed the bridge and took up an exposed position, in which he was beaten, and, on the third day, he retreated. Davidowich, meanwhile, again advanced from the Tyrol and gained an advantage at Rivoli, but was also forced to retreat before Bonaparte. Wurmser, when too late, made a sally, which was, consequently, useless. The campaign was, nevertheless, for the fifth time, renewed. Alvinzi collected reinforcements and again pushed forward into the valley of the Etsch, but speedily lost courage and suffered a fearful defeat, in which twenty thousand of his men were taken prisoners, on the 14th and 15th of January, A. D. 1797, at Rivoli. Provera, on whom he had relied for assistance from Padua, was cut off and taken prisoner with his entire corps. Wurmser capitulated at Mantua with twenty-one thousand men.

The spring of 1797 had scarcely commenced when Bonaparte was already pushing across the Alps towards Vienna. Hoche, at the same time, again attacked the Lower and Mo-

* Clausewitz demands with great justice, why the Austrians so greatly divided their forces on this occasion for the sake of saving Italy, as they had only to follow up their successes vigorously on the Rhine in order to gain, in that quarter, far more than they could lose on the Po.

reau the Upper Rhine. Bonaparte, the nearest and most dangerous foe, was opposed by the archduke, whose army, composed of the remains of Alvinzi's disbanded and discouraged troops, called forth the observation from Bonaparte, "Hitherto I have defeated armies without generals, now I am about to attack a general without an army!" A battle took place at Tarvis, amid the highest mountains, whence it was afterwards known as "the battle above the clouds." The archduke, with a handful of Hungarian hussars, valiantly defended the pass against sixteen thousand French under Massena, nor turned to fly until eight only of his men remained. Generals Bayalich and Ocskay, instead of supporting him, had yielded. The archduke again collected five thousand men around him at Glogau and opposed the advance of the immensely superior French force until two hundred and fifty of his men alone remained. The conqueror of Italy rapidly advanced through Styria upon Vienna. Another French corps under Joubert had penetrated into the Tyrol, but had been so vigorously assailed at Spinges by the brave peasantry * as to be forced to retire upon Bonaparte's main body, with which he came up at Villach, after losing between six and eight thousand men during his retreat through the Pusterthal. The rashness with which Bonaparte, leaving the Alps to his rear and regardless of his distance from France, penetrated into the enemy's country, had placed him in a position affording every facility for the Austrians, by a bold and vigorous stroke, to cut him off and take him prisoner. They had garrisoned Trieste and Fiume on the Adriatic and formed an alliance with the republic of Venice, at that time well supplied with men, arms, and gold. A great insurrection of the peasantry, infuriated by the pillage of the French troops, had broken out

* At Absom, in the valley of the Inn, a peasant girl had, at that time, discovered a figure of the Virgin in one of the panes of glass in her chamber-window. This appearance being deemed miraculous by the simple peasantry, the authorities of the place investigated the matter, had the glass cleaned and scraped, etc., and at length pronounced the indelible figure to be simply the outline of an old coloured painting. The peasantry, however, excited by the appearance of the infidel French, persisted in giving credence to the miracle and set up the piece of glass in a church, which was afterwards annually visited by thousands of pilgrims. In 1407, the celebrated pilgrimage to Waldrast, in the Tyrol, had been founded in a similar manner by the discovery of a portrait of the Virgin, which had been grown up in a tree, by two shepherd lads.

at Bergamo. The gallant Tyrolese, headed by Count Lehrbach, and the Hungarians, had risen en masse. The victorious troops of the Archduke Charles were en route from the Rhine, and Mack had armed the Viennese and the inhabitants of the thickly-populated neighbourhood of the metropolis. Bonaparte was lost should the archduke's plan of operations meet with the approbation of the Viennese cabinet, and, perfectly aware of the fact, he made proposals of peace under pretence of sparing unnecessary bloodshed. The imperial court, stupified by the late discomfiture in Italy, instead of regarding the proposals of the wily Frenchman as a confession of embarrassment, and of assailing him with redoubled vigour, acceded to them, and, on the 18th of April, Count Cobenzl, Thugut's successor, concluded the preliminaries of peace at Leoben, by which the French, besides being liberated from their dangerous position, were recognised as victors. The negotiations of peace were continued at the château of Campo Formio, where the Austrians somewhat regained courage, and Count Cobenzl* even ventured to refuse some of the articles proposed. Bonaparte, irritated by opposition, dashed a valuable cup, the gift of the Russian empress, violently to the ground, exclaiming, "You wish for war? Well! you shall have it, and your monarchy shall be shattered like that cup." The armistice was not interrupted. Hostilities were even suspended on the Rhine. The archduke had, before quitting that river, gained the *têtes de pont* of Strassburg (Kehl) and of Hüningen, besides completely clearing the right bank of the Rhine of the enemy. The whole of these advantages were again lost on his recall to take the field against Napoleon. The Saxon troops, which had, up to this period, steadily sided with Austria, were recalled by the elector. Swabia, Franconia, and Bavaria were intent upon making peace with France. Baron von Fahnenberg, the imperial envoy at Ratisbon, bitterly reproached the Protestant estates for their evident in-

* Cobenzl was a favourite of Kaunitz and a thorough courtier. At an earlier period, when ambassador at Petersburg, he wrote French comedies, which were performed at the Hermitage in the presence of the empress Catherine. The arrival of an unpleasant despatch being ever followed by the production of some amusing piece as an antidote to care, the empress jestingly observed, "that he was no doubt keeping his best piece until the news arrived of the French being in Vienna." He expired in the February of 1809, a year pregnant with fate for Austria.

clination to follow the example of Prussia by siding with the French and betraying their fatherland to their common foe, but, on applying more particularly for aid to the spiritual princes, who were exposed to the greatest danger, he found them equally lukewarm. Each and all refused to furnish troops or to pay a war-tax. The imperial troops were, consequently, compelled to enforce their maintenance, and naturally became the objects of popular hatred. In this wretched manner was the empire defended! The petty imperial corps on the Rhine were, meanwhile, compelled to retreat before an enemy vastly their superior in number. Wernek, attempting with merely twenty-two thousand men to obstruct the advance of an army of sixty-five thousand French under Hoche, was defeated at Neuwied and deprived of his command.* Sztarray, who charged seven times at the head of his men, was also beaten by Moreau at Kehl and Diersheim. At this conjuncture, the armistice of Leoben was published.

A peace, based on the terms proposed at Leoben, was formally concluded at Campo Formio, Oct. 17th, 1797. The triumph of the French republic was confirmed, and ancient Europe received a new form. The object for which the sovereigns of France had for centuries vainly striven was won by the monarchless nation; France gained the preponderance in Europe. Italy and the whole of the left bank of the Rhine were abandoned to her arbitrary rule, and this fearful loss, far from acting as a warning to Germany and promoting her union, merely increased her internal dissensions and offered to the French republic an opportunity for intervention, of which it took advantage for purposes of gain and pillage.

The principal object of the policy of Bonaparte and of the French Directory, at that period, was, by rousing the ancient feelings of enmity between Austria and Prussia, to eternalize the disunion between those two monarchies. Bonaparte, after effectuating the peace by means of terror, loaded Austria with flattery. He flattered her religious feelings by the moderation of his conduct in Italy towards the pope, notwithstanding the disapprobation manifested by the genuine French republicans, and her interests, by the offer of Venice in compensation for

* He indignantly refused the stipend offered to him on this occasion and protested against the injustice of his condemnation.

the loss of the Netherlands, and, making a slight side-movement against that once powerful and still wealthy republic, reduced it at the first blow, nay, by mere threats, to submission; so deeply was the ancient aristocracy here also fallen. The cession of Venice to the emperor was displeasing to the French republicans. They were, however, pacified by the delivery of Lafayette, who had been still detained a prisoner in Austria after the treaty of Basle. Napoleon said in vindication of his policy, "I have merely lent Venice to the emperor, he will not keep her long." He, moreover, gratified Austria by the extension of her western frontier, so long the object of her ambition, by the possession of the archbishopric of Salzburg and of a part of Bavaria with the town of Wasserburg.* The sole object of these concessions was provisionally to dispose Austria in favour of France,† and to render Prussia's ancient jealousy of Austria implacable.‡ Hence the secret articles of peace by which France and Austria bound themselves not to grant any compensation to Prussia. Prussia was on her part, however, resolved not to be the loser, and, in the summer of 1797, took forcible possession of the imperial free town of Nuremberg, notwithstanding her declaration made just three years previously through Count Soden to the Franconian circle, "that the

* Bavaria regarded these forced concessions as a bad reward for her fidelity to Austria. Napoleon appears to have calculated upon relighting by this means the flames of discord, whence he well knew how to draw an advantage, between Bavaria and Austria.

† "Thus the emperor also now abandoned the empire by merely bargaining with the enemy to quit his territories, and leaving the wretched provinces of the empire a prey to war and pillage. And if the assurances of friendship, of confidence, and of affection between Austria and Venice are but recalled to mind, the contrast was indeed laughable when the emperor was pleased to allow that loyal city to be ceded to him. The best friend was in this case the cloth from which the emperor cut himself an equivalent."—*Huergelmer.*

‡ A curious private memoir of Talleyrand says: "J'ai la certitude que Berlin est le lieu, où le traité du 26 Vendémiaire, (the reconciliation of Austria with France at Campo Formio,) aura jetté le plus d'etonnement, d'embarras et de crainte." He then explains that now that the Netherlands no longer belong to Austria, and that Austria and France no longer come into collision, both powers would be transformed from natural foes into natural friends and would have an equal interest in weakening Prussia. Should Russia stir, the Poles could be roused to insurrection, etc.

king had never harboured the design of seeking a compensation at the expense of the empire, whose constitution had ever been sacred in his eyes!" and to the empire, "He deemed it beneath his dignity to refute the reports concerning Prussia's schemes of aggrandizement, oppression, and secularization." Prussia also extended her possessions in Franconia* and Westphalia, and Hesse-Cassel imitated her example by the seizure of a part of Schaumburg-Lippe. The diet energetically remonstrated, but in vain. Pamphlets spoke of the Prussian reunion-chambers opened by Hardenberg in Franconia. An attempt was, however, made to console the circle of Franconia by depicturing the far worse sufferings of that of Swabia under the imperial contributions. The petty Estates of the empire stumbled, under these circumstances, upon the unfortunate idea "that the intercession of the Russian court should be requested for the maintenance of the integrity of the German empire and for that of her constitution;" the intercession of the Russian court, which had so lately annihilated Poland!

Shortly after this, [A. D. 1797,] Frederick William II., who had, on his accession to the throne, found seventy-two millions of dollars in the treasury, expired, leaving twenty-eight millions of debts. His son, Frederick William III., placed the Countess Lichtenau under arrest, chased Wöllner, and abolished the unpopular monopoly in tobacco, but retained his father's ministers and continued the alliance, so pregnant with mischief, with France.——This monarch, well-meaning and destined to the severest trials, educated by a peevish valetudinarian and ignorant of affairs, was first taught by bitter experience the utter incapacity of the men at that time at the head of the government, and after, as will be seen, completely reforming the court, the government, and

* "Exactly at this period, when the empire's common foe was plundering the Franconian circle, when deeds of blood and horror, when misery and want had reached a fearful height, the troops of the Elector of Brandenburg overran the cities and villages. The inhabitants were constrained to take the oath of fealty, the public officers, who refused, were dragged away captive, etc. Ellingen, Stopfenheim, Absperg, Eschenbach, Nürnberg, Postbaur, Virnsperg, Oettingen, Dinkelspühl, Ritzenhausen, Gelchsheim, were scenes of brutal outrage."—*The History of the Usurpation of Brandenburg*, A. D. 1797, with the original Documents, published by the Teutonic Order.

the army, surrounded himself with men, who gloriously delivered Prussia and Germany from all the miseries and avenged all the disgrace, which it is the historian's sad office to record.

Austria, as Prussia had already done by the treaty of Basle, also sacrificed, by the peace of Campo Formio, the whole of the left bank of the Rhine and abandoned it to France, the loss thereby suffered by the Estates of the empire being indemnified by the secularization of the ecclesiastical property in the interior of Germany and by the prospect of the seizure of the imperial free towns. Mayence was ceded without a blow to France. Holland was forgotten. The English, under pretext of opposing France, destroyed [A. D. 1797] the last Dutch fleet, in the Texel, though not without an heroic and determined resistance on the part of the admirals de Winter and Reintjes, both of whom were severely wounded, and the latter died in captivity in England. Holland was formed into a Batavian, Genoa into a Ligurian, Milan with the Veltlin (from which the Grisons was severed) into a Cisalpine republic. Intrigues were, moreover, set on foot for the formation of a Roman and Neapolitan republic in Italy and of a Rhenish and Swabian one in Germany, all of which were to be subordinate to the mother republic in France. The proclamation of a still-born Cisrhenish republic, (it not having as yet been constituted when it was swallowed up in the great French republic,) in the masterless Lower Rhenish provinces in the territory of Treves, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne, under the influence of the French Jacobins and soldiery, was, however, all that could at first be openly done.

The hauteur with which Bonaparte, backed by his devoted soldiery, had treated the republicans, and the contempt manifested by him towards the citizens, had not failed to rouse the jealous suspicions of the Directory, the envy of the less successful generals, and the hatred of the old friends of liberty, by whom he was already designated as a tyrant. The republican party was still possessed of considerable power, and the majority of the French troops under Moreau, Jourdan, Bernadotte, etc., were still ready to shed their blood in the cause of liberty. Bonaparte, compelled to veil his ambitious projects, judged it more politic, after sowing the seed of discord at Campo Formio, to withdraw awhile, in order to await

the ripening of the plot and to return to reap the result. He, accordingly, went meantime [A. D. 1798] with a small but well-picked army to Egypt, for the ostensible purpose of opening a route overland to India, the sea-passage having been closed against France by the British, but in reality, for the purpose of awaiting there a turn in continental affairs, and, moreover, by his victories over the Turks in the ancient land of fable, to add to the marvel it was ever his object to inspire. On his way thither, he seized the island of Malta and compelled Baron Hompesch, the grand-master of the order of the Knights of Malta, to resign his dignity, the fortress being betrayed into his hands by the French knights.

At Rastadt, near Baden, where the compensation mentioned in the treaty of Campo Formio was to be taken into consideration, the terrified Estates of the empire assembled for the purpose of suing the French ambassadors for the lenity they had not met with at the hands of Austria and Prussia.—— The events that took place at Rastadt are of a description little calculated to flatter the patriotic feelings of the German historian. The soul of the congress was Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord, at one time a bishop, at the present period minister of the French republic. His colloquy with the German ambassadors resembled that of the fox with the geese, and he attuned their discords with truly diabolical art. Whilst holding Austria and Prussia apart, instigating them one against the other, flattering both with the friendship of the republic and with the prospect of a rich booty by the secularization of the ecclesiastical lands, he encouraged some of the petty states with the hope of aggrandizement by an alliance with France,* and, with cruel contempt, allowed others awhile to gasp for life before consigning them to destruction. The petty princes, moreover, who had been deprived of their territory on the other side of the Rhine, demanded lands on this side in compensation; all the petty princes on this side consequently trembled lest they should be called upon to make compensation, and each endeavoured, by bribing the members of the congress, Talleyrand in particular, to render himself an exception. The French minister was bribed not by gold alone; a considerable number of ladies gained great notoriety

* His secret memoirs, even at that period, designate Baden, Würtemberg, and Darmstadt as states securely within the grasp of France.

by their liaison with the insolent republican, from whom they received nothing, the object for which they sued being sold by him sometimes even two or three times. Momus, a satirical production of this period, relates numerous instances of crime and folly that are perfectly incredible. The avarice manifested by the French throughout the whole of the negotiations was only surpassed by the brutality of their language and behaviour. Robert, Bonnier, and Jean de Bry, the dregs of the French nation, treated the whole of the German empire on this occasion *en canaille*, and, whilst picking the pockets of the Germans, were studiously coarse and brutal; still the trifling opposition they encountered, and the total want of spirit in the representatives of the great German empire, whom it must, in fact, have struck them as ridiculous to see thus humbled at their feet, forms an ample excuse for their demeanour.

Gustavus Adolphus IV., who mounted the throne of Sweden in 1796, distinguished himself at that time among the Estates of the empire, when Duke of Pomerania and Prince of Rügen, by his solemn protest against the depredations committed by France, and by his summons to every member of the German empire to take the field against their common foe. Hesse-Cassel was also remarkable for the warlike demeanour and decidedly anti-Gallic feeling of her population; and Würtemberg, for being the first of the German states that gave the example of making concessions more in accordance with the spirit of the times. By the abolition of ancient abuses alone could the princes meet the threats used on every occasion by the French at Rastadt to revolutionize the people unless their demands were fully complied with. In Würtemberg, the duke, Charles, had been succeeded [A. D. 1793] by his brother, Louis Eugène, who banished licence from his court, but, a foe to enlightenment, closed the Charles college, placed monks around his person, was extremely bigoted, and a zealous but powerless friend to France. He expired, A. D. 1795, and was succeeded by the third brother, Frederick Eugène, who had been during his youth a canon at Salzburg, but afterwards became a general in the Prussian service, married a princess of Brandenburg, and educated his children in the Protestant faith in order to assimilate the religion of the reigning family with that of the people. His mild government terminated in 1797. Frederick, his talented

son and successor, mainly frustrated the projected establishment of a Swabian republic, which was strongly supported by the French, by his treatment of the provincial Estates, the modification of the rights of chace, etc., on which occasion he took the following oath: "I repeat the solemn vow, ever to hold the constitution of this country sacred and to make the weal of my subjects the aim of my life." He nevertheless appears, by the magnificent fêtes, masquerades, and pastoral festivals given by him, as if in a time of the deepest peace, at Hohenheim, to have trusted more to his connexion with England, by his marriage with the princess royal, Matilda,* with Russia, and with Austria, (the emperor Paul, Catherine's successor, having married the princess Maria of Würtemberg, and the emperor Francis II., her sister Elizabeth,) than to the constitution, which he afterwards annihilated.

The weakness displayed by the empire and the increasing disunion between Austria and Prussia encouraged the French to further insolence. Not satisfied with garrisoning every fortification on the left bank of the Rhine, they boldly attacked, starved to submission, and razed to the ground, during peace-time, the once impregnable fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, on the right bank of the Rhine, opposite Coblentz.† Not content with laying the Netherlands and Holland completely waste, they compelled the Hanse towns to grant them a loan of eighteen million livres. Lübeck refused, but Hamburg and Bremen, more nearly threatened and hopeless of aid from Prussia, were constrained to satisfy the demands of the French brigands. In the Netherlands, the German faction once more rose in open insurrection; in 1798, the young men, infuriated by the conscription and by their enrolment into French regiments, flew to arms, and torrents of blood were shed in the struggle, in which they were unaided by their German brethren, before they were again reduced to submission. The English also landed at Ostend, but for the sole purpose of destroying the sluices of the canal at Brügge.

* He fled on Moreau's invasion to England, where he formed this alliance. There was at one time a project of creating him elector of Hanover and of partitioning Würtemberg between Bavaria and Baden.

† The commandant, Faber, defended the place for fourteen months with a garrison of 2000 men. During the siege, the badly-disciplined French soldiery secretly sold provisions at an exorbitant price to the starving garrison.

The French divided the beautiful Rhenish provinces, yielded to them almost without a blow by Germany, into four departments: 1st, Roer, capital Aix-la-Chapelle; besides Cologne and Cleve. 2ndly, Donnersberg, capital Mayence; besides Spires and Zweibrücken. 3rdly, Saar, capital Treves. 4thly, Rhine and Moselle, capital Coblentz; besides Bonn. Each department was subdivided into cantons, each canton into communes. The department was governed by a prefect, the canton by a sub-prefect, the commune by a mayor. All distinction of rank, nobility, and all feudal rights were abolished. Each individual was a citizen, free and equal. All ecclesiastical establishments were abandoned to plunder, the churches alone excepted, they being still granted as places of worship to believers, notwithstanding the contempt and ridicule into which the clergy had fallen. The monasteries were closed. The peasantry, more particularly in Treves, nevertheless, still manifested great attachment to Popery. Guilds and corporations were also abolished. The introduction of the ancient German oral law formerly in use throughout the empire, the institution of trial by jury, which, to the disgrace of Germany, the Rhenish princes, after the lapse of a thousand years, learnt from their Gallic foe, was a great and signal benefit.

Liberty, equality, and justice were, at that period, in all other respects, mere fictions. The most arbitrary rule in reality existed, and the new provinces were systematically drained by taxes of every description, as, for instance, register, stamp, patent, window, door, and land taxes: there was also a tax upon furniture and upon luxuries of every sort; a poll-tax, a per centage on the whole assessment, etc.; besides extortion, confiscation, and forced sales. And woe to the new citizen of the great French republic, if he failed in paying more servile homage to its officers, from the prefect down to the lowest underling, than had ever been exacted by the princes!* Such was the liberty bestowed by republican

* Klebe gave an extremely detailed account of the French government: "It is, for instance, well known that a pastry cook was nominated lord high warden of the forests over a whole department, and a jeweller was raised to the same office in another.——The documents proving the cheating and underselling carried on by Pioc, the lord high warden of the forests, and by his assistant, Gauthier, in all the forests in the depart-

France! Thus were her promises fulfilled! The German illuminati were fearfully undeceived, particularly on perceiving how completely their hopes of universally revolutionizing Germany were frustrated by the treaty of Basle. The French, who had proclaimed liberty to all the nations of the earth, now offered it for sale. The French character was in every respect the same as during the reign of Louis XIV. The only principle to which they remained ever faithful was that of robbery.——Switzerland was now, in her turn, attacked, and vengeance thus overtook every province that had severed itself from the empire, and every part of the once magnificent empire of Germany was miserably punished for its want of unity.

CCLI. *The pillage of Switzerland.*

PEACE had reigned throughout Switzerland since the battle of Villmergen, A. D. 1712, which had given to Zurich and Berne the preponderance in the confederation. The popular discontent caused by the increasing despotism of the aristocracy had merely displayed itself in petty conspiracies, as, for instance, that of Henzi, in 1749, and in partial insurrections. In all

ment of the Rhine and Moselle, are detailed at full length in Rübezahl, a sort of monthly magazine. It is astonishing to see with what boundless impudence these people have robbed the country.——Still greater rascalities were carried on on the right bank of the Rhine. Gauthier robbed from Coblentz down to the Prussian frontiers." These allegations are confirmed by Görres in a pamphlet, "Results of my Mission to Paris," in which he says, "The Directory had treated the four departments like so many Paschalics, which it abandoned to its Janissaries and colonized with its favourites. Every petition sent by the inhabitants was thrown aside with revolting contempt; every thing was done that could most deeply wound their feelings in regard to themselves or to their country." "The secret history of the government of the country between the Rhine and the Moselle," sums up as follows: "All cheated, all thieved, all robbed. The cheating, thieving, and robbing were perfectly terrible, and not one of the cheats, thieves, or robbers seemed to have an idea that this country formed, by the decree of union, a part of France." A naive confession! The French, at all events, acted as if conscious that the land was not theirs. The Rhenish Jews, who, as early as the times of Louis XIV., had aided the French in plundering Germany, again acted as their blood-hounds, and, by accepting bills in exchange for their real or supposed loans, at double the amount, on wealthy proprietors, speedily placed themselves in possession of the finest estates. Vide Reichardt's Letters from Paris.

the cantons, even in those in which the democratic spirit was most prevalent, the chief authority had been seized by the wealthier and more ancient families. All the offices were in their hands, the higher posts in the Swiss regiments raised for the service of France were monopolized by the younger sons of the more powerful families, who introduced the social vices of France into their own country, where they formed a strange medley in conjunction with the pedantry of the ancient oligarchical form of government. In the great canton of Berne, the council of two hundred, which had unlimited sway, was solely composed of seventy-six reigning families. In Zurich, the one thousand nine hundred townsmen had unlimited power over the country. For one hundred and fifty years no citizen had been enrolled amongst them, and no son of a peasant had been allowed to study for, or been nominated to, any office, even to that of preacher. In Solothurn, but one half of the eight hundred townsmen were able to carry on the government. Lucerne was governed by a council of one hundred, so completely monopolized by the more powerful families, that boys of twenty succeeded their fathers as councillors. Basle was governed by a council of two hundred and eighty, which was entirely formed out of seventy wealthy mercantile families. Seventy-one families had usurped the authority at Friburg. A similar oligarchical government prevailed at St. Gall and Schaffhausen. The *Junker*, in the latter place, rendered themselves especially ridiculous by the innumerable offices and chambers in which they transacted their useless and prolix affairs. In all these aristocratic cantons, the peasantry were cruelly harassed, oppressed, and, in some parts, kept in servitude by the provincial governors. The wealthy provincial governments were monopolized by the great aristocratic families.* Even in the pure democracies, the provincial communes were governed by powerful peasant families, as, for instance, in Glarus, and the tyranny exercised by these peasants over the territory beneath their sway far exceeded that of the aristocratic burgesses in their provincial governments. The Italian valleys groaned beneath the yoke

* "The peasant, when summoned into the presence of a governor, lord of the council, head of a guild, or preacher, stood there, not as a free Swiss, but as a criminal trembling before his judge."—*Lehmann on the imaginary Freedom of the Swiss.* 1799.

of the original cantons, particularly under that of Uri,* the seven provincial governments in Unterwallis under that of Oberwallis, the countship of Werdenberg under that of the Glarner, Veltlin under that of the Grisons.† The princely abbot of St. Gall was unlimited sovereign over his territory. Separate monasteries, for instance, Engelberg, had feudal sway over their vassals.

Enlightenment and liberal opinions spread also gradually over Switzerland, and twenty years after Henzi's melancholy death, a disposition was again shown to oppose the tyranny of the oligarchies. In 1792, Lavater and Füszli were banished Zurich for venturing to complain of the arbitrary conduct of one of the provincial governors;‡ in 1779, a curate named Waser, a man of talent and foe to the aristocracy, was beheaded on a false charge of falsifying the archives;§ in 1794, the oppressed peasantry of Lucerne revolted against the

* "The important office of provincial secretary was, in this manner, hereditary in the family of the Beroldingen of Uri."—*Lehmann.*

† "In the Grisons, the constitution was extremely complicated. The lordships of Meyenfeld and Aspermont were, for instance, subject to the three confederated cantons and under the control of the provincial governors nominated by them; they were at the same time members of the whole free state, and, as such, had a right of lordship over the subject provinces, over which they, in their turn, appointed a governor."—*Meyer von Knonau's Geography.*

‡ The best information concerning the authority held by the provincial governors, who enjoyed almost unlimited sway over their districts, is to be met with in the excellent biography of Solomon Landolt, the provincial governor of Zurich, by David Hesz. Landolt was the model of an able but extremely tyrannical governor (he ruled over Greisensee and Eglisau) and gained great note by his salomonic judgments and by his quaint humour. He founded the Swiss rifle clubs and introduced that national weapon into modern warfare. He was also a painter and had the whim, notwithstanding the constant triumph of the French, ever to represent them in his pictures as the vanquished party.

§ Hirzel wrote at that time, in his "Glimpses into the History of the Confederation," that Captain Henzi had been deprived of his head because he was the only man in the country who had one. Zimmerman says in his "National Pride," "A foreign philosopher visited Switzerland for the purpose of settling in a country where thought was free; he remained ten days at Zurich and then went to—Portugal." In 1774, the clocks at Basle, which, since the siege of Rudolph of Habsburg, had remained one hour behindhand, were, after immense opposition, regulated like those in the rest of the world. Two factions sprang up on this occasion, that of the Spieszburghers or Lalleburghers, (the ancient one,) and that of the Francemen or new-modellers (the modern one).

aristocracy; in the same year, the peasantry in Schwyz, roused by the insolence of the French recruiting officers, revolted, and, in the public provincial assembly, enforced the recall of all the people of Schwyz in the French service, besides imposing a heavy fine upon General Reding on his return. In 1781, a revolt of the Friburg peasantry, occasioned by the tyranny of the aristocracy, was quelled with the aid of Berne; in 1784, Suter, the noble-spirited *Landammann* of Appenzell, fell a sacrifice to envy. His mental and moral superiority to the rest of his countrymen inspired his rival, Geiger, with the most deadly hatred, and he persecuted him with the utmost rancour. He was accused of being a free-thinker, documents and protocols were falsified; the stupid populace was excited against him, and, after having been exposed on the pillory, publicly whipped, and tortured on the rack, he was beheaded, and all intercession on his behalf was prohibited under pain of death. Solothurn, on the other hand, was freed from feudal servitude in 1785. The popular feeling at that time prevalent throughout Switzerland, was, however, of far greater import than these petty events. The oligarchies had every where suppressed public opinion; the long peace had slackened the martial ardour of the people; the ridiculous affectation of ancient heroic language brought into vogue by John Müller rendered the contrast yet more striking, and, on the outburst of the French Revolution, the tyrannized Swiss peasantry naturally threw themselves into the arms of the French, the aristocracy into those of the Austrians.

The oppressed peasantry revolted as early as 1790 against the ruling cities, the vassal against the aristocrat, in Schaffhausen, on account of the tithes; in Lower Valais, on account of the tyranny of one of the provincial governors. These petty outbreaks and an attempt made by Laharpe to render Vaud independent of Berne* were suppressed, A. D. 1791. The people remained, nevertheless, in a high state of fermentation. The new French republic at first quarrelled with the ancient confederation for having, unmindful of their origin, descended to servility. The Swiss guard had, on the 16th of August, A. D. 1792, courageously defended the palace of the unfortunate French king and been cut to pieces by the

* Laharpe was at the same time a demagogue in the Vaud and tutor to the emperor Alexander at Petersburg.

Parisian mob. At a later period, the Austrians had seized the ambassadors of the French republic, Semonville and Maret, in the Veltlin, in the territory of the Grisons. The Swiss patriots, as they were called, however, gradually fomented an insurrection against the aristocrats and called the French to their aid. In 1793, the vassals of the bishop of Basle at Pruntrut had already planted trees of liberty and placed the bishopric, under the name of a Rauracian republic, under the protection of France, chiefly at the instigation of Gobel, who was, in reward, appointed bishop of Paris, and whose nephew, Rengger, shortly afterwards became a member of the revolutionary government in Berne. In Geneva, during the preceding year, the French faction had gained the upper hand. The fickleness of the war kept the rest of the patriots in a state of suspense, but, on the seizure of the left bank of the Rhine by the French, the movements in Switzerland assumed a more serious character. The abbot, Beda, of St. Gall, [A. D. 1795,] pacified his subjects by concessions, which his successor, Pancras, refusing to recognise, he was, in consequence, expelled. The unrelenting aristocracy of Zurich, upon this, took the field against the restless peasantry, surrounded the patriots in Stäfa, threw the venerable Bodmer and a number of his adherents into prison, and inflicted upon them heavy fines or severe corporeal chastisement.

The campaign of 1796 had fully disclosed to Bonaparte the advantage of occupying Switzerland with his troops, whose passage to Italy or Germany would be thereby facilitated, whilst the line of communication would be secured, and the danger to which he and Moreau had been exposed through want of co-operation, would at once be remedied. He first of all took advantage of the dissensions in the Grisons to deprive that republic of the beautiful Veltlin,* and, even at that time, demanded permission from the people of Valais

* Veltlin with Chiavenna and Bormio (Cleve and Worms) were ill-treated by the people of the Grisons. Offices and justice were regularly jobbed and sold to the highest bidder. The people of Veltlin hastily entered into alliance with France, whilst the oppressed peasantry in the Grisons rebelled against the ruling family of Salis, which had long been in the pay of the French kings and had, since the revolution, sided with Austria. John Müller appeared at Basle as Thugut's agent for the purpose of inciting the confederation against France.—*Ochs's History of Basle.*

to build the road across the Simplon, which he was, however, only able to execute at a later period. On his return to Paris from the Italian expedition, he passed through Basle,* where he was met by Talleyrand. Peter Ochs, the chief master of the corporation, was, on this occasion, as he himself relates in his History of Basle, won over, as the acknowledged chief of the patriots, to revolutionize Switzerland and to enter into a close alliance with France. The base characters, at that time the tools of the French Directory, merely acceded to the political plans of Bonaparte and Talleyrand in the hope of reaping a rich harvest by the plunder of the federal cantons, and the Swiss expedition was, consequently, determined upon. The people of Valais, whose state of oppression served as a pretext for interference, revolted, under Laharpe, against Berne, [A. D. 1798,] and demanded the intervention of the French republic, as heir to the dukes of Savoy, on the strength of an ancient treaty, which had, for that purpose, been raked up from the ashes of the past. Nothing could exceed the miserable conduct of the diet at that conjuncture. After having already conceded to France her demand for the expulsion of the emigrants and having exposed its weakness by this open violation of the rights of hospitality, it discussed the number of troops to be furnished by each of the cantons, when the enemy was already in the country. Even the once haughty Bernese, who had set an army, thirty thousand strong, on foot, withdrew, under General Wysz, from Valais to their metropolis, where they awaited the attack of the enemy. There was neither plan† nor order; the patriots rose in every quarter and struck terror into the aristocrats, most of whom were now rather inclined to yield and impeded by their indecision the measures of the more spirited party. In Basle, Ochs deposed the oligarchy; in Zurich, the government was induced, by intimidation, to re-

* Whilst here, he gave Fesch, the pastry-cook, whose brother, a Swiss lieutenant, was the second husband of Bonaparte's maternal grandmother, a very friendly reception. The offspring of this second marriage was the future Cardinal Fesch, Letitia's half-brother and Napoleon's uncle, whom Napoleon attempted to create primate of Germany and to raise to the pontifical throne.

† Some of the cantons imagined that France merely aspired to the possession of Valais, and, jealous of the prosperity and power of Berne, willingly permitted her to suffer this humiliation.—*Meyer von Knonau.*

store Bodmer and his fellow-prisoners to liberty. In Friburg, Lucerne, Schaffhausen, and St. Gall the oligarchies resigned their authority; Thurgau asserted its independence.

Within Berne itself, tranquillity was with difficulty preserved by Steiger, the venerable mayor, a man of extreme firmness of character. A French force under Brune had already overrun Vaud, which, under pretext of being delivered from oppression, was laid under a heavy contribution; the ancient charnel-house at Murten was also destroyed, because the French had formerly been beaten on this spot by the Germans. But few of the Swiss marched to the aid of Berne; two hundred of the people of Uri, arrayed in the armour of their ancestors, some of the peasantry of Glarus, St. Gall, and Friburg.* A second French force under Schauenburg entered Switzerland by Basle, defeated the small troops of Bernese sent to oppose it at Dornach and Langnau, and took Solothurn, where it liberated one hundred and eighty self-styled patriots imprisoned in that place. The patriots, at this conjuncture, also rose in open insurrection in Berne, threw every thing into confusion, deposed the old council, formed a provisional government, and checked all the preparations for defence. The brave peasantry, basely betrayed by the cities, were roused to fury. Colonels Ryhiner, Stettler, Crusy, and Goumores were murdered by them upon mere suspicion, (their innocence was afterwards proved,) and boldly following their leader, Grafenried, against the French, they defeated and repulsed the whole of Brune's army and captured eighteen guns at the bridge of Neuenegg. But a smaller Bernese corps, which, under Steiger, the mayor, opposed the army of Schauenburg in the *Grauen Holz*, was routed after a bloody struggle, and, before Erlach, the newly-nominated generalissimo, could hurry back to Berne with the victors of Neuenegg, the patriots, who had long been in the pay of France, threw wide the gates to Schauenburg. All was now lost. Erlach fled to Thun, in order to place himself at the head of the people of the Oberland, who descended in thick masses from the mountains; but, on his addressing the brave Senn peasantry in French, according to

* Two Bernese, condemned to work in the trenches at Yferten, on being liberated by the French, returned voluntarily to Berne, in order to aid in the defence of the city. A rare trait, in those times, of ancient Swiss fidelity.

the mal-practice of the Bernese, they mistook him for a French spy and struck him dead in his carriage. The loss of Berne greatly dispirited them and they desisted from further and futile opposition. Steiger escaped. Hotze, a gallant Austrian general, who, mindful of his Swiss origin, had attempted to place himself at the head of his countrymen, was compelled to retrace his steps. In Berne, the French meanwhile pillaged the treasures of the republic.* Besides the treasury and the arsenal, estimated at twenty-nine million livres, they levied a contribution of sixteen million. Brune planted a tree of liberty, and Frisching, the president of the provisional government, had the folly to say, "Here it stands! may it bear good fruit! Amen!"

Further bloodshed was prevented by the intervention of the patriots. The whole of Switzerland, Schwyz, Upper Valais, and Unterwalden alone excepted, submitted, and, on the 12th of April, the federal diet at Aarau established, in the stead of the ancient federative and oligarchical government, a single and indivisible Helvetian republic, in a strictly democratic form, with five directors, on the French model. Four new cantons, Aargau, Leman (Vaud), the Bernese Oberland, and Thurgau, were annexed to the ancient ones. Schwyz, Uri, Underwalden, and Zug were, on the other hand, to form but one canton. Rapinat, a bold bad man, Rewbel's brother-in-law, who was at that time absolute in Switzerland, seized every thing that had escaped the pillage of the soldiery in Berne and Zurich, sacked Solothurn, Lucerne, Friburg, etc., and hunted out the hidden treasures of the confederation, which he sent to France. The protestations of the directors, Bay and Pfyffer, were unheeded; Rapinat deposed them by virtue of a French warrant and nominated Ochs and Dolder in their stead. The patriotic feelings of the Swiss revolted at this tyranny; Schwyz rose in open insurrection; the peasantry, headed by Aloys Reding, seized and garrisoned Lucerne and called the whole country to arms against the French invader. The peasantry of the free cantons also marched against Aarau, but were defeated by Schauenburg at Häcklingen; two hundred of their number fell, among others, a

* A good deal of it was spent by Bonaparte during his expedition into Egypt, and, even at the present day, the Bernese bear is to be seen on coins still in circulation on the banks of the Nile.—*Meyer von Knonau.*

priest bearing the colours. Schauenburg then attacked the people of Schwyz at Richtenschwyl, where, after a desperate combat that lasted a whole day, he at length compelled them to give way. They, nevertheless, speedily rallied, and two engagements of equal obstinacy took place on the Schindeleggy and on the mountain of Etzel. The flight of Herzog, the pastor of Einsiedeln, was the sole cause of the discomfiture of the Swiss. Reding, however, reassembling his forces at the Red Tower, in the vicinity of the old battle-field of Morgarten, the French, unable to withstand their fury, were repulsed with immense loss. They also suffered a second defeat at Arth, at the foot of the Rigi. The Swiss, on their part, on numbering their forces after the battle, found their strength so terribly reduced, that, although victors, they were unable to continue the contest, and voluntarily recognised the Helvetian republic. The rich monastery of Einsiedeln was plundered and burnt; the miraculous picture of the Virgin was, however, preserved. Upper Valais also submitted, after Sion and the whole of the valley having been plundered and laid waste. The peasantry defended themselves here for several weeks at the precipice of the Dala. Unterwalden offered the most obstinate resistance. The peasantry of this canton were headed by Lüssi. The French invaded the country simultaneously on different sides, by water, across the lake of the four cantons, and across the Brünig from the Haslithal; in the Kernwald they were victorious over the masses of peasantry, but a body of three or four thousand French, which had penetrated further down the vale, was picked off by the peasantry concealed in the woods and behind the rocks. A rifleman, stationed upon a projecting rock, shot more than a hundred of the enemy one after another, his wife and children, meanwhile, loading his guns. Both of the French corps coalesced at Stanz, but met with such obstinate resistance from the old men, women, and girls left there, that, after butchering four hundred of them, they set the place in flames.* The sturdy mountaineers, although

* The venerable Pestalozzi assembled the orphans and founded his celebrated model academy at Stanz. Seventy-nine women and girls were found among the slain. A story is told of a girl, who, being attacked, in a lonely house, by two Frenchmen, knocked their heads together with such force that they dropped down dead.

numerically weak, proved themselves worthy of their ancient fame.——The four *Waldstätte* were thrown into one canton, Waldstätten; Glarus and Toggenburg into another, Linth; Appenzell and St. Gall into that of Säntis. The old Italian prefectures, with the exception of the Veltlin, were formed into two cantons, Lugano and Bellinzona (afterwards the canton of Tessin). The canton of Vaud also finally acceded to this arrangement, but was shortly afterwards, as well as the former bishopric of Basle, Pruntrut,* and the city and republic of Genoa, incorporated with France.

The levy of eighteen thousand men (the Helvetlers, Gallo-schwyzers or eighteen batzmen) for the service of the Helvetian republic occasioned fresh disturbances in the beginning of 1799. The opposition was so great that the recruits were carried in chains to Berne. The Bernese Oberland, the peasantry of Basle, Solothurn, Toggenburg, Appenzell, and Glarus rose in open insurrection, but were again reduced to submission by the military. The spirit of the mountaineers was, however, less easily tamed. In April, 1799, the people of Schwyz took four hundred French prisoner; those of Uri, under their leader, Vincenz Schmid, stormed and burned Altorf, the seat of the French and their adherents; those of Valais, under the youthful Count Courten, drove the French from their valleys, and those of the Grisons surprised and cut to pieces a French squadron at Dissentis. General Soult took the field with a strong force against them in May and reduced them one after the other, but with great loss on his side, to submission. Twelve hundred French fell in Valais, which was completely laid waste by fire and sword; in Uri, stones and rocks were hurled upon them by the infuriated peasantry as they defiled through the narrow gorges; Schmid was, however, taken and shot; Schwyz was also reduced to obedience; in the Grisons, upwards of a thousand French fell in a bloody engagement at Chur, and the magnificent monastery of Dissentis was, in revenge, burnt to the ground. The beautiful Bergland was reduced to an indescribable state of misery. The villages lay in ashes; the people, that had escaped the general massacre, fell victims to

* Not far from Pruntrut is the hill of Terri, said to have been formerly occupied by one of Cæsar's camps. The French named it *Mont Terrible* and created a *department du Mont Terrible*. Vide Meyer von Knonau's Geography.

famine. In this extremity, Zschokke, at that time Helvetic governor of the Waldstätte, proposed the complete expulsion of the ancient inhabitants and the settlement of French colonists in the fatherland of William Tell.*

The imperial free town of Mühlhausen in the Suntgau, the ancient ally of Switzerland, fell, like her, into the hands of the French. Unable to preserve her independence, she committed a singular political suicide. The whole of the town property was divided amongst the citizens. A girl, attired in the ancient Swiss costume, delivered the town keys to the French commissioner; the city banner and arms were buried with great solemnity.†

The French had also shown as little lenity in their treatment of Italy. Rome was entered and garrisoned with French troops; the handsome and now venerable puppet, Pope Pius VI., was seized, robbed, and personally mal-treated, (his ring was even torn from his hand,) and dragged a prisoner to France, where he expired in the August of 1799.

CCLII. *The second coalition.*

Prussia looked calmly on, with a view of increasing her power by peace whilst other states ruined themselves by war, and of offering her arbitration at a moment when she could turn their mutual losses to advantage. Austria, exposed to immediate danger by the occupation of Switzerland by the French, remained less tranquil and hastily formed a fresh coalition with England and Russia. Catherine II. had expired, A. D. 1796. Her son, Paul I., cherished the most ambitious views. His election as grand-master of the Maltese order dispersed by Napoleon had furnished him with a sort of right of interference in the affairs of the Levant and of Italy. On the 1st of March, 1799, the Ionian Islands, Corfu,

* In his "Political Remarks touching the Canton of Waldstätten," dated the 23rd of June, 1799, he says: "Let us imitate the politica maxims of the conquerors of old, who drove the inhabitants most inimical to them into foreign countries and established colonies, composed of families of their own kin, in the heart of the conquered provinces." His proposal remaining unseconded, he sought to obliterate the bad impression it had made, by publishing a proclamation, calling upon the charitably inclined to raise a subscription for the unfortunate inhabitants of the Waldstatte.

† Vide Graf's History of Mühlhausen.

etc., were occupied by Russian troops, and a Russian army, under the terrible Suwarow, moved, in conjunction with the troops of Austria, upon Italy. The project of the Russian czar was, by securing his footing on the Mediterranean and at the same time encircling Turkey, to attack Constantinople on both sides, on the earliest opportunity. Austria was merely to serve as a blind tool for the attainment of his schemes. Mack was despatched to Naples for the purpose of bringing about a general rising in southern Italy against the French, and England lavished gold. The absence of Bonaparte probably inspired several of the allied generals with greater courage, not the French, but he, being the object of their dread. The conduct of the French at Rastadt had revolted every German and had justly raised their most implacable hatred, which burst forth during a popular tumult at Vienna, when the tricolour, floating from the palace of General Bernadotte, the French ambassador, was torn down and burnt. The infamous assassination of the French ambassadors at Rastadt also took place during this agitated period. Bonnier, Roberjot, and Jean de Bry quitted Rastadt on the breaking out of war, and were attacked and cut to pieces by some Austrian hussars in a wood close to the city gate. Jean de Bry alone escaped, although dangerously wounded, with his life. This atrocious act was generally believed to have been committed through private revenge, or, what is far more probable, for the purpose of discovering by the papers of the ambassadors the truth of the reports at that time in circulation concerning the existence of a conspiracy and projects for the establishment of republics throughout Germany. The real motive was, however, not long ago,* unveiled. Austria had revived her ancient projects against Bavaria, and, as early as 1798, had treated with the French Directory for the possession of that electorate in return for her toleration of the occupation of Switzerland by the troops of the republic. The venerable elector, Charles Theodore, who had been already persuaded to cede Bavaria and to content himself with Franconia, dying suddenly of apoplexy whilst at the card-table, was succeeded by his cousin, Maximilian Joseph von Pfalz-Zweibrücken, from whom, on account of his numerous

* Scenes during the War of Liberation.

family, no voluntary cession was to be expected either for the present or future. Thugut and Lehrbach, the rulers of the Viennese cabinet, in the hope of compromising and excluding him, as a traitor to the empire, from the Bavarian succession, by the production of proofs of his being the secret ally of France, hastily resolved upon the assassination of the French ambassadors at Rastadt, on the bare supposition of their having in their possession documents in the hand-writing of the elector. None were, however, discovered, the French envoys having either taken the precaution of destroying them or of committing them to the safe keeping of the Prussian ambassador. This crime was, as Hormayr observes, at the same time, a political blunder. This horrible act was perpetrated on the 28th of April, 1799.

The campaign had, a month anterior to this event, been opened by the French, who had attacked the Austrians in their still scattered positions. Disunion prevailed as usual in the Austrian military council. The Archduke Charles proposed the invasion of France from the side of Swabia. The occupation of Switzerland by the troops of Austria was, nevertheless, resolved upon, and General Auffenberg, accordingly, entered the Grisons. The French instantly perceived and hastened to anticipate the designs of the Austrian cabinet. Auffenberg was defeated by Massena on the St. Lucien-steig and expelled the Grisons, whilst Hotze on the Vorarlberg and Bellegarde in the Tyrol looked calmly on at the head of fifteen thousand men. The simultaneous invasion of Swabia by Jourdan now induced the military council at Vienna to accede to the proposal formerly made by the Archduke Charles, who was despatched with the main body of the army to Swabia, where, on the 25th of March, 1799, he gained a complete victory over Jourdan at Ostrach and Stockach.* The Grisons were retaken in May by Hotze, and, in June, the archduke joining him, Massena was defeated at Zurich, and the steep passes of Mont St. Gothard were occupied by Haddik. Massena was, however, notwithstanding the immense numerical superiority of the archduke's forces, who could easily have driven him far into France, allowed to remain undisturbed at

* Jourdan might easily have been annihilated during his retreat by the imperial cavalry, twenty-seven thousand strong, had his strength and position been better known to his pursuers.

Bremgarten. The French, under Scherer, in Italy, had, meanwhile, been defeated, in April, by Kray, at Magnano. This success was followed by the arrival of Melas from Vienna, of Bellegarde from the Tyrol, and lastly, by that of the Russian van-guard under Suwarow, who took the chief command and beat the whole of the French forces in Italy; Moreau, at Cassano and Marengo, in May; Macdonald, on his advance from Lower Italy, on the Trebbia, in June; and finally, Joubert, in the great battle of Novi, in which Joubert was killed, August the 15th, 1799. Dissensions now broke out among the victors. A fourth of the forces in Italy belonged to Austria, merely one fifth to Russia; the Austrians, consequently, imagined that the war was merely carried on on their account. The Austrian forces were, against Suwarow's advice, divided, for the purpose of reducing Mantua and Alessandria and of occupying Tuscany. The king of Sardinia, whom Suwarow wished to restore to his throne, was forbidden to enter his states by the Austrians, who intended to retain possession of them for some time longer. The whole of Italy, as far as Ancona and Genoa, was now freed from the French, whom the Italians, embittered by their predatory habits, had aided to expel, and Suwarow received orders to join his forces with those under Korsakow, who was then on the Upper Rhine with thirty thousand men. The archduke might, even without this fresh reinforcement, have already annihilated Massena had he not remained for three months, from June to August, in a state of complete inactivity; at the very moment of Suwarow's expected arrival, he allowed the important passes of the St. Gothard to be again carried by a coup de main by the French under General Lecourbe, who drove the Austrians from the Simplon, the Furca, the Grimsel, and the Devil's bridge. The archduke, after an unsuccessful attempt to push across the Aar at Dettingen, suddenly quitted the scene of war and advanced down the Rhine for the purpose of supporting the English expedition under the Duke of York against Holland. This unexpected turn in affairs proceeded from Vienna. The Viennese cabinet was jealous of Russia. Suwarow played the master in Italy, favoured Sardinia at the expense of the house of Hapsburg, and deprived the Austrians of the laurels and of the advantages they had won. The archduke, accordingly, received orders

to remain inactive, to abandon the Russians, and finally to withdraw to the north; by this movement Suwarow's triumphant progress was checked, he was compelled to cross the Alps to the aid of Korsakow and to involve himself in a mountain warfare ill-suited to the habits of his soldiery.* Korsakow, whom Bavaria had been bribed with Russian gold to furnish with a corps one thousand strong, was solely supported by Kray and Hotze with twenty thousand men. Massena, taking advantage of the departure of the archduke and the non-arrival of Suwarow, crossed the Limmat at Dietikon and shut Korsakow, who had imprudently stationed himself with his whole army in Zurich, so closely in, that, after an engagement that lasted two days, from the 15th to the 17th of September, the Russian general was compelled to abandon his artillery and to force his way through the enemy. Ten thousand men were all that escaped.† Hotze, who had advanced from the Grisons to Schwyz to Suwarow's rencontre, was, at the same time, defeated and killed at Schännis. Suwarow, although aware that the road across the St. Gothard was blocked by the lake of the four cantons, on which there were no boats, had the folly to attempt the passage. In Airolo, he was obstinately opposed by the French under Lecourbe, and, although Schweikowski contrived to turn this strong position by scaling the pathless rocks, numbers of the men were, owing to Suwarow's impatience, sacrificed before it. On the 24th of September, 1799, he at length climbed the St. Gothard, and a bloody engagement, in which the French were worsted, took place on the Oberalpsee. Lecourbe blew up the Devil's bridge, but, leaving the Urnerloch open, the Russians pushed through that rocky gorge, and, dashing through the foaming Reuss, scaled the opposite rocks and drove the French from their position behind the Devil's bridge. Altorf on the lake was reached in safety by the Russian general, who was compelled, owing to the want of boats, to seek his way through the valleys of Shächen and Muotta, across the almost impass-

* Scenes during the War of Liberation.

† The celebrated Lavater was, on this occasion, mortally wounded by a French soldier. The people of Zurich were heavily mulcted by Massena for having aided the Austrians to the utmost in their power. Zschokke, who was at that time in the pay of France, wrote against the "Imperialism" of the Swiss. Vide Haller and Landolt's Life by Hess.

able rocks, to Schwyz. The heavy rains rendered the undertaking still more arduous; the Russians, owing to the badness of the road, were speedily barefoot; the provisions were also exhausted. In this wretched state they reached Muotta on the 29th of September and learnt the discouraging news of Korsakow's defeat. Massena had already set off in the hope of cutting off Suwarow, but had missed his way. He reached Altorf, where he joined Lecourbe on the 29th, when Suwarow was already at Muotta, whence Massena found on his arrival he had again retired across the Bragelberg, through the Klönthal. He was opposed on the lake of Klönthal by Molitor, who was, however, forced to retire by Auffenberg, who had joined Suwarow at Altorf and formed his advanced guard; Rosen, at the same time, beating off Massena with the rear-guard, taking five cannons and one thousand of his men prisoners. On the 1st of October, Suwarow entered Glarus, where he rested until the 4th, when he crossed the Panixer mountains through snow two feet deep to the valley of the Rhine, which he reached on the 10th, after losing the whole of his beasts of burthen and two hundred of his men down the precipices; and here ended his extraordinary march, which had cost him the whole of his artillery, almost all his horses, and a third of his men.

The archduke had, meanwhile, tarried on the Rhine, where he had taken Philippsburg and Mannheim, but had been unable to prevent the defeat of the English expedition under the Duke of York by General Brune at Bergen, on the 19th of September. The archduke now, for the first time, made a retrograde movement, and approached Korsakow and Suwarow. The different leaders, however, merely reproached each other, and the czar, perceiving his project frustrated, suddenly recalling his troops, the campaign came to a close. The archduke's rear-guard was defeated in a succession of petty skirmishes at Heidelberg and on the Neckar by the French, who again pressed forward.* These disasters were counterbalanced by the splendid victory gained by Melas in Italy, at Savigliano, over Championnet, who attempted to save Genoa.

* Concerning the wretched provision for the Austrian army, the embezzlement of the supplies, the bad management of the magazines and hospitals, see "Representation of the Causes of the Disasters suffered by the Austrians, etc." 1802.

Austria was no sooner deprived in Suwarow of the most efficient of her allies than she was attacked by her most dangerous foe. Bonaparte returned from Egypt. The news of the great disasters of the French in Italy no sooner arrived, than he abandoned his army and hastened, completely unattended, to France, through the midst of the English fleet, then stationed in the Mediterranean. His arrival in Paris was instantly followed by his public nomination as generalissimo. He alone had the power of restoring victory to the standard of the republic. The ill success of his rivals had greatly increased his popularity; he had become indispensable to his countrymen. His power was alone obnoxious to the weak government, which, aided by the soldiery, he dissolved on the 9th of November (the 18th Brumaire, by the modern French calendar); he then bestowed a new constitution upon France and placed himself, under the title of First Consul, at the head of the republic.

In the following year, A. D. 1800, Bonaparte made preparations for a fresh campaign against Austria, under circumstances similar to those of the first. But this time he was more rapid in his movements and performed more astonishing feats. Suddenly crossing the St. Bernard, he fell upon the Austrian flank. Genoa, garrisoned by Massena, had just been forced by famine to capitulate. Ten days afterwards, on the 14th of June, Bonaparte gained such a decisive victory over Melas, the Austrian general, at Marengo,* that he and the remainder of his army capitulated on the ensuing day. The whole of Italy fell once more into the hands of the French. Moreau had, at the same time, invaded Germany and defeated the Austrians under Kray in several engagements, principally at Stockach and Möskirch,† and again at Biberach and Höch-

* The contest lasted the whole day: the French already gave way on every side, when Desaix led the French centre with such fury to the charge, that the Austrians, surprised by the suddenness of the movement, were driven back and thrown into confusion, and the French, rallying at that moment, made another furious onset and tore the victory from their grasp.

† The impregnable fortress of Hohentwiel, formerly so gallantly defended by Widerhold, was surrendered without a blow by the cowardly commandant, Bilfinger. Rotenburg on the Tauber, on the contrary, wiped off the disgrace with which she had covered herself during the thirty years' war. A small French skirmishing party demanded a contribution from this city; the council yielded, but the citizens drove off the enemy with pitch-forks.

städt, laid Swabia and Bavaria under contribution, and taken Ratisbon, the seat of the diet. An armistice, negotiated by Kray, was not recognised by the emperor, and he was replaced in his command by the Archduke John, (not Charles,) who was, on the 3rd of December, totally routed by Moreau's manœuvres during a violent snow-storm, at Hohenlinden. A second Austrian army, despatched into Italy, was also defeated by Brune on the Mincio. These disasters once more inclined Austria to peace, which was concluded at Luneville, on the 9th of February, 1801. The Archduke Charles seized this opportunity to propose the most beneficial reforms in the war administration, but was again treated with contempt. In the ensuing year, A. D. 1802, England also concluded peace, at Amiens.

The whole of the left bank of the Rhine was, on this occasion, ceded to the French republic. The petty republics, formerly established by France in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, were also renewed and were recognised by the allied powers. The Cisalpine republic was enlarged by the possessions of the grand-duke of Tuscany and of the duke of Modena, to whom compensation in Germany was guaranteed. Suwarow's victories had, in the autumn of 1799, rendered a conclave, on the death of the captive pope, Pius VI., in France, possible, for the purpose of electing his successor, Pius VII., who was acknowledged as such by Bonaparte, whose favour he purchased by expressing his approbation of the seizure of the property of the church during the French Revolution, and by declaring his readiness to agree to the secularization of church property, already determined upon, in Germany.

The Helvetian Directory fell, like that of France, and was replaced by an administrative council, composed of seven members, A. D. 1800. The upholders of ancient cantonal liberty, now known under the denomination of Federalists, gained the upper hand, and Aloys Reding, who had, shortly before, been denounced as a rebel, became Landamman of Switzerland. Bonaparte even invited him to Paris in order to settle with him the future fate of Switzerland. Reding, however, showing an unexpected degree of firmness, and, unmoved by either promises or threats, obstinately refusing to permit the annexation of Valais to France, Bonaparte withdrew his support and again favoured the Helvetlers. Dolder

and Savari, who had long been the creatures of France, failing in their election, were seated by Verninac, the French ambassador, in the senate of the Helvetian republic, and Reding, who was at that moment absent, was divested of his office as Landamman. Reding protested against this arbitrary conduct and convoked a federal diet to Schwyz. Andermatt, general of the Helvetian republic, attempted to seize Zurich, which had joined the federalists, but was compelled to withdraw, covered with disgrace. An army of federalists under General Bachmann repulsed the Helvetlers in every direction and drove them, together with the French envoys, across the frontier. Bonaparte, upon this, sent a body of thirty to forty thousand men, under Ney, into Switzerland, which met with no opposition, the federalists being desirous of avoiding useless bloodshed and being already acquainted with Bonaparte's secret projects. He would not tolerate opposition on their part, like that of Reding: he had resolved upon getting possession of Valais at any price, on account of the road across the Simplon, so important to him as affording the nearest communication between Paris and Milan: in all other points, he perfectly coincided with the federalists and was willing to grant its ancient independence to every canton in Switzerland, where disunion and petty feuds placed the country the more securely in his hands. With feigned commiseration for the ineptitude of the Swiss to settle their own disputes, he invited deputies belonging to the various factions and cantons to Paris, lectured them like school-boys, and compelled them by the Act of Mediation, under his intervention, to give a new constitution to Switzerland. Valais was annexed to France in exchange for the Austrian Frickthal. Nineteen cantons were created.* Each canton again administered its internal

* The ancient ones, Berne, Zurich, Basle, Solothurn, Fryburg, Lucerne, Schaffhausen; the re-established ones, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, Appenzell, St. Gall, (instead of Waldstätten, Linth, and Säntis,) Valais, (instead of Leman,) Aargau, Thurgau, Grisons, Tessin (instead of Lugano and Bellinzona). The Bernese Oberland again fell to Berne. The ambassador, attempting to preserve its independence, was asked by Napoleon: "Where do you take your cattle, your cheese, etc.?" "A Berne," was the reply. "Whence do you get your grain, cloth, iron, etc." "De Berne." "Well," continued Napoleon, "de Berne, à Berne, you consequently belong to Berne."——The Bernese were highly delighted at the restoration of their independence, and the re-erection of the ancient arms of Berne

affairs. Bonaparte was never weary of painting the happy lot of petty states and the delights of petty citizenship. "But ye are too weak, too helpless, to defend yourselves; cast yourselves therefore into the arms of France, ready to protect you whilst, free from taxation and from the burthensome maintenance of an army, ye dwell free and independent in your native vales." The Swiss, although no longer to have a national army, were, nevertheless, compelled to furnish a contingency of eighteen thousand men to that of France, and, whilst deluded by the idea of their freedom from taxation, the fifteen million of French *bons* given in exchange for the numerous Swiss loans were cashiered by Bonaparte, under pretext of the Swiss having been already sufficiently paid by their deliverance from their enemies by the French.* The true Swiss patriots implored the German powers to protect their country, the bulwark of Germany against France; but Austria was too much weakened by her own losses, and Prussia handed the letters addressed to her from Switzerland over to the First Consul.

The melancholy business, commenced by the empire at the congress of Rastadt, and which had been broken off by the outbreak of war, had now to be recommenced. Fresh compensations had been rendered necessary by the robberies committed upon the Italian princes. The church property no longer sufficed to satisfy all demands, and fresh seizures had become requisite. A committee of the diet was intrusted with the settlement of the question of compensation, which was decided on the 25th of February, 1803, by a decree of the imperial diet. All the great powers of Germany had not suffered; all had not, consequently, a right to demand compensation, but, in order to appease their jealousy, all were to receive a portion of the booty. The three spiritual electorates, Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, were abolished, their position on the other side of the Rhine including them within the

became a joyous fête. A gigantic black bear that was painted on the broad walls of the castle of Trachselwald was visible far down the valley.

* Murald, in his Life of Reinhard, records an instance of shameless fraud, the attempt made during a farewell banquet at Paris to cozen the Swiss deputies out of a million. After plying them well with wine, an altered document was offered them for signature; Reinhard, the only one who perceived the fraud, frustrated the scheme.

French territory. The archbishop of Mayence alone retained his dignity, and was transferred to Ratisbon. The whole of the imperial free cities were moreover deprived of their privileges, six alone excepted, Lübeck, Hamburg,* Bremen, Frankfurt, Augsburg, and Nuremberg. The unsecularized bishoprics and abbeys were abolished. The petty princes, counts and barons, and the Teutonic order were still allowed to exist, in order ere long to be included in the general ruin.

Prussia retained the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, a part of Münster, numerous abbeys and imperial free towns in Westphalia and Thuringia, more particularly Erfurt. Bavaria had ever suffered on the conclusion of peace between France and Austria; in 1797, she had ceded the Rhenish Pfalz to France and a province on the Inn to Austria; by the treaty of Luneville, she had been, moreover, compelled to raze the fortress of Ingoldstadt.† The inclination for French innovations displayed by the reigning duke, Maximilian Joseph, who surrounded himself with the old illuminati, caused her, on this occasion, by Bonaparte's aid, to be richly compensated by the annexation of the bishoprics of Bamberg, Würzburg, Augsburg, and Freisingen, with several small towns, etc.; all the monasteries were abolished. Bavaria had formerly supported the institutions of the ancient church of Rome more firmly than Austria, where reforms had already been begun in the church by Joseph II. Hanover received Osnabrück; Baden, the portion of the Pfalz on this side the Rhine, the greatest part of the bishoprics of Constance, Basle, Strassburg, and Spires, also on this side the Rhine; Würtemberg, both Hesses (Cassel and Darmstadt); and Nassau, all the lands in the vicinity formerly belonging to the bishopric of Mayence, to imperial free towns and petty lordships. Ferdinand, grand-duke of Tuscany, younger brother to the emperor, Francis II., was compelled to relinquish his hereditary possessions in Italy,‡ and received in exchange Salzburg,

* Hamburg was, however, compelled to pay to the French 1,700,000 marcs banco, and to allow Rumbold, the English agent, to be arrested by them within the city walls.

† The university had been removed, in 1800, to Landshut.

‡ Bonaparte transformed them into a kingdom of Etruria, which he bestowed upon a Spanish prince, Louis of Parma, who shortly afterwards died and his kingdom was annexed to France.

Eichstädt, and Passau. Ferdinand, duke of Modena, uncle to the emperor Francis II. and younger brother to the emperors Leopold II. and Joseph II., also resigned his duchy,* for which he received the Breisgau in exchange. William V., hereditary stadtholder of Holland, who had been expelled his states, also received, on this occasion, in compensation for his son of like name, (he was himself already far advanced in years,) the rich abbey of Fulda, which was created the principality of Orange-Fulda.† The electoral dignity was at the same time bestowed upon the Archduke Ferdinand, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the duke of Würtemberg, and the Margrave of Baden.

Submission, although painful, produced no opposition. The power of the imperial free cities had long passed away,‡ and the spiritual princes no longer wielded the sword. The manner in which the officers of the princes took possession, the insolence with which they treated the subject people, the fraud and embezzlement that was openly practised, are merely excusable on account of the fact that Germany was, notwithstanding the peace, still in a state of war. The decree of the imperial diet can scarcely be regarded as the ignominious close of a good old time, but rather as a violent but beneficial incisure in an old and rankling sore. With the petty states,

* He was son-in-law to Hercules, the last duke of Modena, who still lived, but had resigned his claims in his favour. This duke expired A. D. 1805.

† Which he speedily lost by rejoining Napoleon's adversaries. Adalbert von Harstall, the last princely abbot of Fulda, was an extremely noble character; he is almost the only one among the princes who remained firmly by his subjects when all the rest fled and abandoned theirs to the French. After the edict of secularization he remained firmly at his post until compelled to resign it by the Prussian soldiery.

‡ The citizens of Esslingen were shortly before at law with their magistrate on account of his nepotism and tyranny, without being able to get a decision from the supreme court of judicature.——Quedlinburg had also not long before sent envoys to Vienna with heavy complaints of the insolence of the magistrate, and the envoys had been sent home without a reply being vouchsafed, and were threatened with the house of correction in case they ventured to return. Vide Hess's Flight through Germany, 1793.——Wimpfen also carried on a suit against its magistrate. In 1784, imperial decrees were issued against the aristocracy of Ulm. In 1786, the people of Aix-la-Chapelle rose against their magistrate. Nuremberg repeatedly demanded the production of the public accounts from the aristocratic town-council. The people of Hildesheim also revolted against their council. Vide Schlözer, State-archives.

a mass of vanity and pedantry disappeared on the one side, pusillanimity and servility on the other; the ideas of the subjects of a large state have naturally a wider range; the monasteries, those dens of superstition, the petty princely residences, those hotbeds of French vice and degeneracy, the imperial free towns, those abodes of petty burgher prejudice, no longer existed. The extension of the limits of the states rendered the gradual introduction of a better administration, the laying of roads, the foundation of public institutions of every description, and social improvement, possible. The example of France, the ever-renewed warfare, and the conscriptions, created, moreover, a martial spirit among the people, which, although far removed from patriotism, might still, when compared with the spirit formerly pervading the imperial army, be regarded as a first step from effeminacy, cowardice, and sloth, towards true, unflinching, manly courage.

CCLIII. *Fall of the holy Roman-Germanic empire.*

A GREAT change had, meanwhile, taken place in France. The republic existed merely in name. The first consul, Bonaparte, already possessed regal power. The world beheld with astonishment a nation that had so lately and so virulently persecuted royalty, so dearly bought and so strictly enforced its boasted liberty, suddenly forget its triumph and restore monarchy. Liberty had ceased to be in vogue, and had yielded to a general desire for the acquisition of fame. The equality enforced by liberty was offensive to individual vanity, and the love of gain and luxury opposed republican poverty. Fame and wealth were alone to be procured by war and conquest. France was to be enriched by the plunder of her neighbours. Bonaparte, moreover, promoted the prosperity and dignity of the country by the establishment of manufactures, public institutions, and excellent laws. The awe with which he inspired his subjects insured their obedience; he was universally feared and reverenced. In whatever age this extraordinary man had lived, he must have taken the lead and have reduced nations to submission. Even his adversaries, even those he most deeply injured, owned his influence. His presence converted the wisdom of the statesman, the knowledge of the most experienced general, into folly and ignor-

ance; the bravest armies fled panic-struck before his eagles; the proudest sovereigns of Europe bowed their crowned heads before the little hat of the Corsican. He was long regarded as a new saviour, sent to impart happiness to his people, and, as though by magic, bent the blind and pliant mass to his will. But philanthropy, Christian wisdom, the virtues of the Prince of peace, were not his. If he bestowed excellent laws upon his people, it was merely with the view of increasing the power of the state for military purposes. He was ever possessed and tormented by the demon of war.

On the 18th of May, 1804, Bonaparte abolished the French republic and was elected hereditary emperor of France. On the 2nd of December, he was solemnly anointed and crowned by the pope, Pius VII., who visited Paris for that purpose. The ceremonies used at the coronation of Charlemagne were revived on this occasion. On the 15th of March, 1805, he abolished the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics, and set the ancient iron crown of Lombardy on his head, with his own hand, as king of Italy. He made a distinction between *la France* and *l'empire*, the latter of which was, by conquest, to be gradually extended over the whole of Europe, and to be raised by him above that of Germany, in the same manner that the western Roman-Germanic empire had formerly been raised by Charlemagne above the eastern Byzantine one.

The erection of France into an empire was viewed with distrust by Austria, whose displeasure had been, moreover, roused by the arbitrary conduct of Napoleon in Italy. Fresh disputes had also arisen between him and England; he had occupied the whole of Hanover, which Wallmoden's* army had been powerless to defend with his troops, and violated the Baden territory by the seizure of the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien, a prince of the house of Bourbon, who was carried into France and there shot. Prussia offered no interference, in the hope of receiving Hanover in reward for her neutrality.† Austria, on

* He capitulated at Suhlingen on honourable terms, but was deceived by General Mortier, the French general, and Napoleon took advantage of a clause not to recognise all the terms of capitulation. The Hanoverian troops, whom it was intended to force to an unconditional surrender to the French, sailed secretly and in separate divisions to England, where they were formed into the German Legion.

† England offered the Netherlands instead of Hanover to Prussia; to this Russia, however, refused to accede. Prussia listened to both sides,

her part, formed a third coalition with England, Russia, and Sweden.* Austria acted, undeniably, on this occasion, with impolitic haste; she ought rather to have waited until Prussia and public opinion throughout Germany had been ranged on her side, as sooner or later must have been the case, by the brutal encroachments of Napoleon. Austria, unaided by Prussia, could scarcely dream of success.† But England, at that time fearful of Napoleon's landing on her coast, lavished persuasive gold.

The Archduke Ferdinand was placed at the head of the Austrian troops in Germany; the Archduke Charles at that of those in Italy. Ferdinand commanded the main body and was guided by Mack, who, without awaiting the arrival of the Russians, advanced as far as Ulm, pushed a corps, under Jellachich, forward to Lindau, and left the whole of his right flank exposed. He, nevertheless, looked upon Napoleon's defeat and the invasion of France by his troops as close at hand. He was in ill health and highly irritable. Napoleon, in order to move with greater celerity, sent a part of his troops by carriage through Strassburg, declared to the Margrave of Baden, the duke of Würtemberg, and the elector of Bavaria, his intention not to recognise them as neutral powers, that they must be either against him or with him, and made them such brilliant promises, (they were, moreover, actuated by distrust of Austria,) that they ranged themselves on his side. Napoleon instantly sent orders to General Bernadotte, who was at that time stationed in Hanover, to cross the neutral Prussian territory of Anspach,‡ without demanding the per-

and acted with such duplicity, that Austria was led by the false hope of being seconded by her to a too early declaration of war.—*Scenes during the War of Liberation.*

* Gustavus Adolphus IV. of Sweden, who had wedded a princess of Baden, was at Carlsruhe at the very moment that the Duc d'Enghien was seized as it were before his eyes. This circumstance and the ridicule heaped upon him by Napoleon, who mockingly termed him the Quixote of the North, roused his bitter hatred.

† Bulow wrote in his remarkable criticism upon this war: "The hot coalition party—that of the ladies—of the empress and the queen of Naples—removed Prince Charles from the army and called Mack from oblivion to daylight; Mack, whose name in the books of the prophets in the Hebrew tongue signifies defeat."

‡ Napoleon gained almost all his victories either by skilfully separating his opponents and defeating them singly with forces vastly superior

mission of Prussia, to Mack's rear, in order to form a junction with the Bavarian troops. Other corps were at the same time directed by circuitous routes upon the flanks of the Austrian army, which was attacked at Memmingen by Soult, and was cut off to the north by Ney, who carried the bridge of Elchingen* by storm. Mack had drawn his troops together, but had, notwithstanding the entreaties of his generals, refused to attack the separate French corps before they could unite and surround him. The Archduke Ferdinand alone succeeded in fighting his way with a part of the cavalry through the enemy.† Mack lost his senses and capitulated on the 17th of October, 1805. With him fell sixty thousand Austrians, the élite of the army, into the hands of the enemy. Napoleon could scarcely spare a sufficient number of men to escort this enormous crowd of prisoners to France. Wernek's corps, which had already been cut off, was also compelled to yield itself prisoner at Trochtelfingen, not far from Heidenheim.

Napoleon, whilst following up his success with his customary rapidity and advancing with his main body straight upon Vienna, despatched Ney into the Tyrol, where the peasantry, headed by the Archduke John, made an heroic defence. The advanced guard of the French, composed of the Bavarians under Deroy, were defeated at the Strub pass, but, notwithstanding this disaster, Ney carried the Schaarnitz by storm and reached Innsbruck. The Archduke John was compelled to retire to Carinthia in order to form a junction with his brother Charles, who, after beating Massena at Caldiero, had been necessitated by Mack's defeat to hasten from Italy for the purpose of covering Austria. Two corps, left in the hurry of retreat too far westward, were cut off and taken prisoner, that under Prince Rohan at Castellfranco, after having found its way from Meran into the Venetian territory, and that under Jellachich on the lake of Constance; Kinsky's and Wartenleben's cavalry threw themselves boldly into Swabia

in number, or by creeping round the concentrated forces of the enemy and placing them between two fires.

* Ney was, for this action, created Duke of Elchingen.

† Klein, the French general, also a German, allowed himself to be kept in conversation by Prince, afterwards field-marshal Schwarzenberg, who had been sent to negotiate terms with him, until the Austrians had reached a place of safety.—*Prokesch, Schwarzenberg's Memorabilia.*

and Franconia, seized the couriers and convoys to the French rear, and escaped unhurt to Bohemia.

Davoust had, in the mean while, invaded Styria and defeated a corps under Meerveldt at Mariazell. In November, Napoleon had reached Vienna, neither Linz nor any other point having been fortified by the Austrians. The great Russian army under Kutusow appeared at this conjuncture in Moravia. The czar, Alexander I., accompanied it in person, and the emperor, Francis II., joined him with his remaining forces. A bloody engagement took place between Kutusow and the French at Dürrrenstein on the Danube, but, on the loss of Vienna, the Russians retired to Moravia. The sovereigns of Austria and Russia loudly called upon Prussia to renounce her alliance with France, and, in this decisive moment, to aid in the annihilation of a foe, for whose false friendship she would one day dearly pay. The violation of the Prussian territory by Bernadotte had furnished the Prussian king with a pretext for suddenly declaring against Napoleon. The Prussian army was also in full force. The British and the Hanoverian legion had landed at Bremen and twenty thousand Russians on Rügen; ten thousand Swedes entered Hanover; electoral Hesse was also ready for action. The king of Prussia, nevertheless, merely confined himself to threats, in the hope of selling his neutrality to Napoleon for Hanover, and deceived the coalition.* The emperor Alexander visited Berlin in person for the purpose of rousing Prussia to war, but had no sooner returned to Austria in order to rejoin his army than Count Haugwitz, the Prussian minister, was despatched to Napoleon's camp with express instructions not to declare war. The famous battle, in which the three emperors of Christendom were present, took place, meanwhile, at Austerlitz, not far from Brünn, on the 2nd of December, 1805, and terminated in one of Napoleon's most glorious victories.† This battle decided the policy of Prussia, and Haugwitz con-

* "Prussia made use of the offers made by England (and Russia) to stipulate terms with France exactly subversive of the object of the negotiations of England (and Russia)."—*The Manifest of England against Prussia. Allgemeine Zeitung, No.* 132.

† On the 4th of December, Napoleon met the emperor Francis in the open street in the village of Nahedlowitz. That the impression made by the former upon the latter was far from favourable is proved by the emperor's observation, "Now that I have seen him, I shall never be able

firmed her alliance with France by a treaty, by which Prussia ceded Cleve, Anspach, and Neufchâtel to France in exchange for Hanover.* This treaty was published with a precipitation equalling that with which it had been concluded, and seven hundred Prussian vessels, whose captains were ignorant of the event, were seized by the enraged English either in British harbours or on the sea. The peace concluded by Austria, on the 26th of December, at Presburg, was purchased by her at an enormous sacrifice. Napoleon had, in the opening of the campaign, when pressing onwards towards Austria, compelled Charles Frederick, elector of Baden,† Frederick, elector of Würtemberg, and Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, (in whose mind the

to endure him!" On the 5th of December, the Bavarians under Wrede were signally defeated at Iglau by the Archduke Ferdinand.

* "After the commission of such numerous mistakes, I must nevertheless praise the minister, Von Haugwitz, for having, in the first place, evaded a war unskilfully managed, and, in the second, for having annexed Hanover to Prussia, although its possession, it must be confessed, is somewhat precarious. Here, however, I hear it said, that the commission of a robbery at another's suggestion is, in the first place, the deepest of degradations, and, in the second place, unparalleled in history."—*Von Bulow, The Campaign of* 1805. It has been asserted that Haugwitz had, prior to the battle of Austerlitz, been instructed to declare war against Napoleon in case the intervention of Prussia should be rejected by him. Still, had Haugwitz overstepped instructions of such immense importance, he would not immediately afterwards, on the 12th of January, 1806, have received, as was actually the case, fresh instructions, in proof that he had in no degree abused the confidence of his sovereign. Haugwitz, by not declaring war, husbanded the strength of Prussia and gained Hanover; and, by so doing, he fulfilled his instructions, which were, to gain Hanover without making any sacrifice. His success gained for him the applause of his sovereign, who intrusted him, on account of his skill as a diplomatist, with the management of other negotiations. Prussia at that time still pursued the system of the treaty of Basle, was unwilling to break with France, and was simply bent upon selling her neutrality to the best advantage. Instead, however, of being able to prescribe terms to Napoleon, she was compelled to accede to his. Napoleon said to Haugwitz, "Jamais on n'obtiendra de moi ce qui pourrait blesser ma gloire." Haugwitz had been instructed through the duke of Brunswick: "Pour le cas que vos soins pour rétablir la paix échouent, pour le cas où l'apparition de la Prusse sur le théâtre de la guerre soit jugée inévitable, mettez tous vos soins pour conserver à la Prusse l'épée dans le fourreau jusqu'au 22 Décembre, et s'il se peut jusqu'à un terme plus reculé encore."—*Extract from the Memoirs of the Count von Haugwitz.*

† He married a Mademoiselle von Geyer. His children had merely the title of Counts von Hochberg, but came, in 1830, on the extinction of the Agnati, to the government.

memory of the assassination of the ambassadors at Rastadt, the loss of Wasserburg, the demolition of Ingolstadt, etc. still rankled,) to enter into his alliance; to which they remained zealously true on account of the immense private advantages thereby gained by them, and of the dread of being deprived by the haughty victor of the whole of their possessions on the first symptom of opposition on their part. Napoleon, with a view of binding them still more closely to his interests by motives of gratitude, gave them on the present occasion an ample share in the booty. Bavaria was erected into a kingdom,* and received, from Prussia, Anspach and Bayreuth; from Austria, the whole of the Tyrol, Vorarlberg and Lindau, the Margraviate of Burgau, the dioceses of Passau, Eichstädt, Trient, and Brixen, besides several petty lordships. Würtemberg was raised to a monarchy and enriched with the bordering Austrian lordships in Swabia. Baden was rewarded with the Breisgau, the Ortenau, Constance, and the title of grand-duke. Venice was included by Napoleon in his kingdom of Italy, and, for all these losses, Austria was merely indemnified by the possession of Salzburg. Ferdinand, elector of Salzburg, the former grand-duke of Tuscany, was transferred to Würzburg. Ferdinand of Modena lost the whole of his possessions.

The imperial crown, so well maintained by Napoleon, now shone with redoubled lustre. The petty republics and the provinces dependent upon the French empire were erected into kingdoms and principalities and bestowed upon his relatives and favourites. His brother Joseph was created king of Naples; his brother Louis, king of Holland; his step-son Eugene Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy; his brother-in-law Murat, formerly a common horse-soldier, now his best general of cavalry, grand-duke of Berg; his first adjutant, Berthier, prince of Neufchâtel; his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, was nominated successor to the elector of Mayence, then resident at Ratisbon. In order to remove the stigma attached to him as

* On the 1st of January, 1806; the Bavarian state-newspaper announced it at New-year with the words, "Long live Napoleon, the restorer of the kingdom of Bavaria!" Bavarian authors, more particularly Pallhausen, attempted to prove that the Bavarians had originally been a Gallic tribe under the Gallic kings. It was considered a dishonour to belong to Germany.

a parvenu, Napoleon also began to form matrimonial alliances between his family and the most ancient houses of Europe. His handsome step-son, Eugene, married the Princess Augusta, daughter to the king of Bavaria; his brother Hieronymus, Catherine, daughter to the king of Würtemberg; and his niece, Stephanie, Charles, hereditary prince of Baden. All the new princes were vassals of the emperor Napoleon, and, by a family decree, subject to his supremacy. All belonged to the great empire. Switzerland was also included, and but one step more was wanting to complete the incorporation of half the German empire with that of France.

On the 12th of July, 1806, sixteen princes of Western Germany concluded, under Napoleon's direction, a treaty, according to which they separated themselves from the German empire and founded the so-called Rhenish alliance, which it was their intention to render subject to the supremacy of the emperor of the French.* On the 1st of August, Napoleon declared that he no longer recognised the empire of Germany! No one ventured to oppose his omnipotent voice. On the 6th of August, 1806, the emperor, Francis II., abdicated the imperial crown of Germany and announced the dissolution of the empire in a touching address, full of calm dignity and sorrow. The last of the German emperors had shown himself, throughout the contest, worthy of his great ancestors, and had, almost alone, sacrificed all in order to preserve the honour of Germany, until, abandoned by the greater part of the German princes, he was compelled to yield to a power superior to his. The fall of the empire that had stood the storms of a thousand years, was, however, not without dignity. A meaner hand might have levelled the decayed fabric

* In 1797, the anonymous statesman, in the dedication "to the congress of Rastadt," foretold the formation of the Rhenish alliance as a necessary result of the treaty of Basle. "The electors of Brandenburg, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and all the princes, who defended themselves behind the line of demarcation against their obligations to the empire, and tranquilly awaited the issue of the contest between France and that part of the empire that had taken up arms; all those princes to whom their private interests were dearer than those of the empire, who, devoid of patriotism, formed a separate party against Austria and Southern Germany, from which they severed and isolated themselves, could, none of them, arrogate to themselves a voice in the matter, if Southern Germany, abandoned by them, concluded treaties for herself as her present and future interests demanded."

with the dust, but fate, that seemed to honour even the faded majesty of the ancient Cæsars, selected Napoleon as the executioner of her decrees. The standard of Charlemagne, the greatest hero of the first Christian age, was to be profaned by no hand save that of the greatest hero of modern times.

Ancient names, long venerated, now disappeared. The holy Roman-German emperor was converted into an emperor of Austria, the electors into kings or grand-dukes, all of whom enjoyed unlimited sovereign power and were free from subjection to the supremacy of the emperor. Every bond of union was dissolved with the diet of the empire and with the imperial chamber. The barons and counts of the empire and the petty princes were mediatised; the princes of Hohenlohe, Oettingen, Schwarzenberg, Thurn, and Taxis, the Truchsess von Waldburg, Fürstenberg, Fugger, Leiningen, Löwenstein, Solms, Hesse-Homburg, Wied-Runkel, and Orange-Fulda became subject to the neighbouring Rhenish confederated princes. Of the remaining six imperial free cities, Augsburg and Nuremberg fell to Bavaria; Frankfurt, under the title of grand-duchy, to the ancient elector of Mayence, who was again transferred thither from Ratisbon. The ancient Hanse-towns, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen alone retained their freedom.

The Rhenish confederation now began its wretched existence. It was established on the basis of the Helvetian republic. The sixteen confederated princes were to be completely independent and to exercise sovereign power over the internal affairs of their states, like the Swiss cantons, but were, in all foreign affairs, dependent upon Napoleon as their protector.* The whole Rhenish confederation became a part of the French empire. The federal assembly was to sit at Frankfurt, and Dalberg, the former elector of Mayence, now grand-duke of Frankfurt, was nominated by Napoleon, under the title of Prince Primate, president. Napoleon's uncle, and afterwards his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, were his destined successors, by which means the control was placed entirely in the hands of France. To this confederation there belonged two kings, those

* "Oldenburg affords a glaring proof of the insecurity and meanness characteristic of the Rhenish alliance. The relation even with Bavaria was not always the purest, and I have sometimes caught a near glimpse of the claws."—*Gagern's Share in Politics.*

of Bavaria and Würtemberg, five grand-dukes, those of Frankfurt, Würzburg, Baden, Darmstadt, and Berg, and ten princes, two of Nassau, two of Hohenzollern, two of Salm, besides those of Aremberg, Isenburg, Lichtenstein, and Leyen. Every trace of the ancient free constitution of Germany, her provincial Estates, was studiously annihilated. The Würtemberg Estates, with a spirit worthy of their ancient fame, alone made an energetic protest, by which they merely succeeded in saving their honour, the king, Frederick, dissolving them by force and closing their chamber.* An absolute, despotic form of government, similar to that existing in France under Napoleon, was established in all the confederated states. The murder of the unfortunate bookseller, Palm of Nuremberg, who was, on the 25th of August, 1806, shot by Napoleon's order, at Braunau, for nobly refusing to give up the author of a patriotic work published by him, directed against the rule of France, and entitled, "Germany in her deepest Degradation," furnished convincing proof, were any wanting, of Napoleon's supremacy.

* No diet had, since 1770, been held in Würtemberg, only the committee had continued to treat secretly with the duke. In 1797, Frederick convoked a fresh diet and swore to hold the constitution sacred. Some modern elements appeared in this diet; the old opposition was strengthened by men of the French school. Disputes, consequently, ere long arose between it and the duke, a man of an extremely arbitrary disposition. The Estates discovered little zeal for the war with France, attempted to economize in the preparations, etc., whilst the duke made great show of patriotism as a prince of the German empire, nor gave the slightest symptom of his one day becoming an enemy to his country, a member of the Rhenish alliance, and the most zealous partisan of France. Moreau, however, no sooner crossed the Rhine than the duke fled, abandoned his states, and afterwards not only refused to bear the smallest share of the contributions levied upon the country by the French, but also seized the subsidies furnished by England. The duke, shortly after this, quarrelling with his eldest son, William, the Estates sided with the latter and supplied him with funds, at the same time refusing to grant any of the sums demanded by the duke, who, on his part, omitted the confirmation of the new committee, and ordered Grosz, the counsellor, Stockmaier, the secretary of the diet, and several others, besides Batz, the agent of the diet at Vienna, to be placed under arrest, their papers to be seized, and a sum of money to be raised from the church property, A. D. 1805. Not long after this, rendered insolent by the protection of the great despot of France, he utterly annihilated the ancient constitution of Würtemberg.

CCLIV. *Prussia's declaration of war, and defeat.*

PRUSSIA, by a timely declaration of war against France before the battle of Austerlitz, might have turned the tide against Napoleon, and earned for herself the glory and the gain, instead of being, by a false policy, compelled, at a later period, to make that declaration under circumstances of extreme disadvantage. Her maritime commerce suffered extreme injury from the attacks of the English and Swedes. War was unavoidable, either for or against France. The decision was replete with difficulty. Prussia, by continuing to side with France, was exposed to the attacks of England, Sweden, and probably, Russia; it was, moreover, to be feared that Napoleon, who had more in view the diminution of the power of Prussia than that of Austria, might delay his aid. During the late campaign, the Prussian territory had been violated and the fortress of Wesel seized by Napoleon, who had also promised the restoration of Hanover to England as a condition of peace. He had invited Prussia to found, besides the Rhenish, a northern confederation, and had, at the same time, bribed Saxony with a promise of the royal dignity, and Hesse with that of the annexation of Fulda, not to enter into alliance with Prussia. Prussia saw herself scorned and betrayed by France. A declaration of war with France was, however, surrounded with tenfold danger. The power of France, unweakened by opposition, had reached an almost irresistible height. Austria, abandoned in every former campaign and hurried to ruin by Prussia, could no longer be reckoned on for aid. The whole of Germany, once in favour of Prussia, now sided with the foe. Honour at length decided. Prussia could no longer endure the scorn of the insolent Frenchman, his desecration of the memory of the great Frederick, or, with an army impatient for action, tamely submit to the insults of both friend and foe. The presence of the Russian czar, Alexander, at Berlin, his visit to the tomb of Frederick the Great, rendered still more popular by an engraving, had a powerful effect upon public opinion. Louisa, the beautiful queen of Prussia and princess of Mecklenburg, animated the people with her words and roused a spirit of chivalry in the army, which still deemed itself invincible. The younger officers were not sparing of

their vaunts, and Prince Louis vented his passion by breaking the windows of the minister Haugwitz. John Müller, who, on the overthrow of Austria, had quitted Vienna and had been appointed Prussian historiographer at Berlin, called upon the people, in the preface to the "Trumpet of the Holy War," to take up arms against France.

War was indeed declared, but with too great precipitation. Instead of awaiting the arrival of the troops promised by Russia or until Austria had been gained, instead of manning the fortresses and taking precautionary measures, the Prussian army, in conjunction with that of Saxony, which lent but compulsory aid, and with those of Mecklenburg and Brunswick, its voluntary allies, advanced without any settled plan, and suddenly remained stationary in the Thuringian forest, like Mack two years earlier at Ulm, waiting for the appearance of Napoleon, A. D. 1806. The king and the queen accompanied the army, which was commanded by Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, a veteran of seventy-two, and by his subordinate in command, Frederick Louis, prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, who ever opposed his measures. In the general staff, the chief part was enacted by Colonel Massenback, a second Mack, whose counsels were rarely followed. All the higher officers in the army were old men, promotion depending not upon merit but upon length of service. The younger officers were radically bad, owing to their airs of nobility and licentious garrison life; their manners and principles were equally vulgar. Women, horses, dogs, and gambling formed the staple of their conversation; they despised all solid learning, and, when decorated on parade, in their enormous cocked hats and plumes, powdered wigs and queues, tight leather breeches and great boots, they swore at and cudgelled the men, and strutted about with conscious heroism. The arms used by the soldiery were heavy and apt to hang fire, their tight uniform was inconvenient for action and useless as a protection against the weather, and their food, bad of its kind, was stinted by the avarice of the colonels, which was carried to such an extent, that soldiers were to be seen, who, instead of a waistcoat, had a small bit of cloth sewn on to the lower part of the uniform where the waistcoat was usually visible. Worst of all, however, was the bad spirit that pervaded the army, the enervation consequent

upon immorality. Even before the opening of the war, Lieutenant Henry von Bulow, a retired officer, the greatest military genius at that period in Germany, and, on that account, misunderstood, foretold the inevitable defeat of Prussia, and, although far from being a devoté, declared, "The cause of the national ignorance lies chiefly in the atheism and demoralization produced by the government of Frederick II. The enlightenment, so highly praised in the Prussian states, simply consists in a loss of energy and power."

The main body of the Prussian army was stationed around Weimar and Jena, a small corps under General Tauenzien was pushed forward to cover the rich magazines at Hof, and a reserve of seventeen thousand men under Eugene, duke of Würtemberg, lay to the rear at Halle. It was remarked that this position, in case of an attack being made by Napoleon, was extremely dangerous, the only alternatives left for the Prussian army being, either to advance, form a junction with the gallant Hessians and render the Rhine the seat of war, or, to fall back upon the reserve and hazard a decisive battle on the plains of Leipsig. That intriguing impostor, Lucchesini, the oracle of the camp, however, purposely declared that *he* knew Napoleon, that Napoleon would most certainly not attempt to make an attack. A few days afterwards, Napoleon, nevertheless, appeared, found the pass at Kösen open, cut off the Prussian army from the right bank of the Saal, from its magazines at Hof and Naumburg, which he also seized, from the reserve corps stationed at Halle, and from Prussia. Utterly astounded at the negligence of the duke of Brunswick, he exclaimed, whilst comparing him with Mack, "Les Prussiens sont encore plus stupides que les Autrichiens!" On being informed by some prisoners that the Prussians expected him from Erfurt when he was already at Naumburg, he said, "Ils se tromperont furieusement, ces perruques." He would, nevertheless, have been on his part exposed to great peril, had the Prussians suddenly attacked him with their whole force from Weimar, Jena, and Halle, or had they instantly retired into Franconia and fallen upon his rear; but the idea never entered the heads of the Prussian generals, who tranquilly waited to be beaten by him one after the other.

After Tauenzien's repulse, a second corps under Prince Louis of Prussia, which had been pushed forward to Saalfeld,

imprudently attempting to maintain its position in the narrow valley, was surrounded and cut to pieces. The prince refused to yield, and, after a furious defence, was killed by a French horse-soldier. The news of this disaster speedily reached the main body of the Prussians. The duke of Brunswick, at that time holding a military council in the castle of Weimar, so entirely lost his presence of mind as to ask in the hearing of several young officers, and with embarrassment depicted on his countenance, "What are we to do?" This veteran duke would with painful slowness write down in the neatest hand the names of the villages in which the various regiments were to be quartered, notwithstanding which, it sometimes happened that, owing to his topographical ignorance, several regiments belonging to different corps d' armée were billetted in the same village and had to dispute its possession. He would hesitate for an hour whether he ought to write the name of a village Münchenholzen or Münchholzen.

The Prussian army was compared to a ship with all sail spread lying at anchor. The duke was posted with the main body not far from Weimar, the Saxons at the Schnecke on the road between Weimar and Jena, the prince of Hohenlohe at Jena. Mack had isolated and exposed his different corps d' armée in an exactly similar manner at Ulm. Hohenlohe again subdivided his corps and scattered them in front of the concentrated forces of the enemy. Still, all was not yet lost, the Prussians being advantageously posted in the upper valley, whilst the French were advancing along the deep valleys of the Saal and its tributaries. But, on the 13th of October, Tauenzien retired from the vale, leaving the steeps of Jena, which a hundred students had been able to defend simply by rolling down the stones there piled in heaps, open, and, during the same night, Napoleon sent his artillery up and posted himself on the Landgrafenberg. There, nevertheless, still remained a chance; the Dornberg, by which the Landgrafenberg was commanded, was still occupied by Tauenzien, and the Windknollen, a still steeper ascent, whence Hohenlohe, had he not spent the night in undisturbed slumbers at Capellendorf, might utterly have annihilated the French army, remained unoccupied. The thunder of the French artillery first roused Hohenlohe from his couch, and, whilst he was still under the

hands of his barber, Tauenzien was driven from the Dornberg. The duties of the toilette at length concluded, Hohenlohe led his troops up the hill-side with a view of retaking the position he had so foolishly lost; but his serried columns were exposed to the destructive fire of a body of French tirailleurs posted above, and were repulsed with immense loss. General Rüchel arrived, with his corps that had been uselessly detached, too late to prevent the flight of the Hohenlohe corps, and, making a brave but senseless attack, was wounded and defeated. A similar fate befell the unfortunate Saxons at the Schnecke and the duke of Brunswick at Auerstädt. The latter, although at the head of the strongest division of the Prussian army, succumbed to the weakest division of the French army, that commanded by Davoust, who henceforward bore the title of duke of Auerstädt, and was so suddenly put to the rout that a body of twenty thousand Prussians under Kalkreuth never came into action. The duke was shot in both eyes. This incident was, by his enemies, termed fortune's revenge, "as he never would see when he had his eyes open."*

Napoleon followed up his victory with consummate skill. The junction of the retreating corps d'armée and their flight by the shortest route into Prussia were equally prevented. The defeated Prussian army was in a state of indescribable confusion. An immensely circuitous march lay before it before Prussia could be re-entered. A number of the regiments disbanded, particularly those whose officers had been the first to take to flight or had crept for shelter behind hedges and walls. An immense number of officers' equipages, provided with mistresses, articles belonging to the toilette, and epicurean delicacies, fell into Napoleon's hands. Waggons laden with poultry, complete kitchens on wheels, wine casks, etc., had followed this luxurious army. The scene presented by the battle-field of Jena widely contrasted with that of Rossbach, whose monument was sent by Napoleon to Paris as the

* On the 14th of October. On this unlucky day, Frederick the Great had, in 1758, been surprised at Hochkirch, and Mack, in 1805, at Ulm. On this day, the peace of Westphalia was, A. D. 1648, concluded at Osnabruck, and, in 1809, that of Vienna. It was, however, on this day that the siege of Vienna was, in 1529, raised, and that, in 1813, Napoleon was shut up at Leipzig.

most glorious part of the booty gained by his present easy victory.*

The fortified city of Erfurt was garrisoned with fourteen thousand Prussians under Möllendorf, who, on the first summons, capitulated to Murat, the general of the French cavalry. The hereditary Prince of Orange was also taken prisoner on this occasion. Von Hellwig, a lieutenant of the Prussian hussars, boldly charged the French guard escorting the fourteen thousand Prussian prisoners of war from Erfurt, at the head of his squadron, at Eichenrodt in the vicinity of Eisenach, and succeeded in restoring them to liberty. The liberated soldiers, however, instead of joining the main body, dispersed. Eugene, duke of Würtemberg, was also defeated at Halle, and, throwing up his command, withdrew to his states. History has, nevertheless, recorded one trait of magnanimity, that of a Prussian ensign fifteen years of age, who, being pursued by some French cavalry not far from Halle, sprang with the colours into the Saal and was crushed to death by a mill-wheel.

Kalkreuth's corps, that had not been brought into action and was the only one that remained entire, being placed under the command of the prince of Hohenlohe, its gallant commander, enraged at the indignity, quitted the army. Hohenlohe's demand, on reaching Magdeburg, for a supply of ammunition and forage, was refused by the commandant, Von Kleist, and he hastened helplessly forward in the hope of reaching Berlin, but the route was already blocked by the enemy, and he was compelled to make a fatiguing and circuitous march to the west through the sandy Mark. Magdeburg, although garrisoned with twenty-two thousand Prussians, defended by eight hundred pieces of artillery and almost impregnable fortifications, capitulated on the 11th of November to Ney, on his appearance beneath the walls with merely ten thousand men and a light field-battery. Kleist, in exculpation of his conduct, alleged his expectation of an insurrection of the citizens in case of a bombardment. Magdeburg con-

* The whole of these disasters had been predicted by Henry von Bülow, whose prophecies had brought him into a prison. On learning the catastrophe of Jena, he exclaimed, "That is the consequence of throwing generals into prison and of placing idiots at the head of the army!"

tained at that time three thousand unarmed citizens. It is not known whether Kleist had been bribed, or whether he was simply infected with the cowardice and stupidity by which the elder generals of that period were distinguished; it is, however, certain that among the numerous younger officers serving under his command, not one raised the slightest opposition to this disgraceful capitulation.*

The Hohenlohe corps, which consisted almost exclusively of infantry, was accompanied in its flight by Blücher, the gallant general of the hussars, with the élite of the remaining cavalry. Blücher had, however, long borne a grudge against his pedantic companion, and, mistrusting his guidance, soon quitted him. Being surrounded by a greatly superior French force under Klein,† he contrived to escape by asserting with great earnestness to that general, that an armistice had just been concluded. When afterwards urgently entreated by Hohenlohe to join him with his troops, he procrastinated too long, it may be, owing to his desire to bring Hohenlohe, who, by eternally retreating, completely disheartened his troops, to a stand, or, owing to the impossibility of coming up with greater celerity.‡ He had, indubitably, the intention to join Hohenlohe at Prenzlow, but unfortunately arrived a day too late, the prince, whose ammunition and provisions were completely spent, and who, owing to the stupidity of Massenbach, who rode up and down the Ucker without being able to discover whether he was on the right or left bank, had missed the only route by which he could retreat, having already fallen, with twelve thousand men, into the enemy's hands. This disaster was shortly afterwards followed by the capture of General Hagen with six thousand men at Pasewalk and that of Bila with another small Prussian corps not far from

* The young "vons," on the contrary, capitulated with extreme readiness, in order to return to their pleasurable habits. Several of them set a great shield over their doors, with the inscription, "Herr von N. or M., prisoner of war on parole." In all the capitulations, the commandants and officers merely took care of their own persons and equipages and sacrificed the soldiery. Napoleon, who was well aware of this little weakness, always offered them the most flattering personal terms.

† The same man who had been imposed upon by a similar ruse at Ulm, by the archduke Ferdinand. Napoleon dismissed him the service.

‡ Massenbach published an anonymous charge against Blücher, which that general publicly refuted.

Stettin. Blücher, strengthened by the corps of the duke of Weimar and by numerous fugitives, still kept the field, but was at length driven back to Lübeck, where he was defeated, and, after a bloody battle in the very heart of the terror-stricken city, four thousand of his men were made prisoners. He fled with ten thousand to Radkan, where, finding no ships to transport him across the Baltic, he was forced to capitulate.

The luckless duke of Brunswick was carried on a bier from the field of Jena to his palace at Brunswick, which he found deserted. All belonging to him had fled. In his distress he exclaimed, "I am now about to quit all and am abandoned by all!" His earnest petition to Napoleon for protection for himself and his petty territory was sternly refused by the implacable victor, who replied, that he knew of no reigning duke of Brunswick, but only of a Prussian general of that name, who had, in the infamous manifest of 1792, declared his intention to destroy Paris and was undeserving of mercy. The blind old man fled to Ottensen, in the Danish territory, where he expired.

Napoleon, after confiscating sixty millions worth of English goods on his way through Leipzig, entered Berlin on the 17th of October, 1806. The defence of the city had not been even dreamt of; nay, the great arsenal, containing five hundred pieces of artillery and immense stores, the sword of Frederick the Great, and the private correspondence of the reigning king and queen, were all abandoned to the victor.* Although the citizens were by no means martially disposed, the authorities deemed it necessary to issue proclamations to the people, inculcatory of the axiom, "Tranquillity is the first duty of the citizen." Napoleon, on his entry into Berlin, was received, not, as at Vienna, with mute rage, but with loud demonstrations of delight. Individuals belonging to the highest class

* Whilst the unfortunate Henry von Bülow, whose wise counsels had been despised, was torn from his prison to be delivered to the Russians, whose behaviour at Austerlitz he had blamed. On his route he was maliciously represented as a friend to the French and exposed to the insults of the rabble, who bespattered him with mud, and to such brutal treatment from the Cossacks, that he died of his wounds at Riga. Never had a prophet a more ungrateful country. He was delivered by his fellow-citizens to an ignominious death for attempting their salvation, for pointing out the means by which alone their safety could be insured and for exposing the wretches by whom they were betrayed.

stationed themselves behind the crowd and exclaimed, "For God's sake, give a hearty hurrah! Cry, Vive l'empereur! or we are all lost." On a demand, couched in the politest terms, for the peaceable delivery of the arms of the civic guard, being made by Hulin, the new French commandant, to the magistrate, the latter, on his own accord, ordered the citizens to give up their arms "under pain of death." Numerous individuals betrayed the public money and stores, that still remained concealed, to the French. Hulin replied to a person, who had discovered a large store of wood, "Leave the wood untouched; your king will want a good deal to make gallows for traitorous rogues." Napoleon's reception struck him with such astonishment that he declared, "I know not whether to rejoice or to feel ashamed." At the head of his general staff, in full uniform and with bared head, he visited the apartment occupied by Frederick the Great at Sans Souci and his tomb. He took possession of Frederick's sword and declared in the army bulletin, "I would not part with this weapon for twenty millions." Frederick's tomb afforded him an opportunity for giving vent to the most unbecoming expressions of contempt against his unfortunate descendant. He publicly aspersed the fame of the beautiful and noble-hearted Prussian queen, in order to deaden the enthusiasm she sought to raise. But he deceived himself. Calumny but increased the esteem and exalted the enthusiasm with which the people beheld their queen and kindled a feeling of revenge in their bosoms. Napoleon behaved, nevertheless, with generosity to another lady of rank. Prince Hatzfeld, the civil governor of Berlin, not having quitted that city on the entry of Napoleon, had been discovered by the spies and been condemned to death by a court-martial. His wife, who was at that time enceinte, threw herself at Napoleon's feet. With a smile, he handed to her the paper containing the proof of her husband's guilt, which she instantly burnt, and her husband was restored to liberty. John Müller was among the more remarkable of the servants of the state who had remained at Berlin. This sentimental parasite, the most despicable of them all, whose pathos sublimely glossed over each fresh treason, was sent for by Napoleon, who placed him about his person. Among other things, he asked him, "Is it not true? the Germans are somewhat thick-brained?" to which the fawning professor replied with

a smile. In return for the benefits he had received from the royal family of Prussia, he delivered, before quitting Berlin, an academical lecture upon Frederick the Great, in the presence of the French general officers, in which he artfully (the lecture was of course delivered in the French language) contrived to flatter Napoleon at the expense of that monarch.* Prince Charles von Isenburg raised, in the very heart of Berlin, a regiment, composed of Prussian deserters, for the service of France.†

The Prussian fortresses fell, meanwhile, one after the other, during the end of autumn and during the winter, some from utter inability, on account of their neglected state, to maintain themselves, but the greater part, owing to their being commanded by old villains, treacherous and cowardly as the commandant of Magdeburg. The strong fortress of Hameln, was in this manner yielded by a Baron von Schöler, Plassenburg by a Baron von Becker, Nimburg on the Weser by a Baron von Dresser, Spandau by a Count von Benkendorf. The citadel of Berlin capitulated without a blow, and Stettin, although well provided with all the *materiel* of war, was delivered up by a Baron von Romberg. Custrin, one of the strongest fortified places, was commanded by a Count von Ingersleben. The king visited the place during his flight and earnestly recommended him to defend this place, which, sooner than yield, had, during the seven years' war, allowed itself to be reduced to a heap of ruins, to the last. When standing on one of the bastions, the king inquired its name. The commandant was ignorant of it. Scarcely had the king quitted the place, than a body of French huzzars appeared before the gates, and Ingersleben instantly capitulated.

* In the "Trumpet of the Holy War," he had summoned the nation to take up arms against the heathens (the French). He breathed war and flames. In his address to the king, he said, "The idle parade of the ruler during a long peace has never maintained a state!" He incited the hatred of the people against the French, telling them to harbour "such hatred against the enemy, like men who knew how to hate!" After thus aiding to kindle the flames of war, he went over to the French and wrote the letter to Bignon, which that author has inserted in his History of France: "Like Ganymede to the seat of the gods, have I been borne by the eagle to Fontainebleau, there to serve a god."

† The conduct of these deserters, how, decorated with the French cockade, they treated the German population with unheard of insolence, is given in detail by Seume.

Silesia, although less demoralized than Berlin, viewed these political changes with even greater apathy. This fine province had, during the reign of Frederick the Great, been placed under the government of the minister, Count Hoym, whose easy disposition had, like insidious poison, utterly enervated the people. The government officers, as if persuaded of the reality of the antiquarian whim which deduced the name of Silesia from Elysium, dwelt in placid self-content, unmoved by the catastrophes of Austerlitz or Jena. No measures were, consequently, taken for the defence of the country, and a flying corps of Bavarians, Würtembergers, and some French under Vandamme, speedily overran the whole province, notwithstanding the number of its fortresses. At Glogau, the commandant, Von Reinhardt, unhesitatingly declared his readiness to capitulate and excluded the gallant Major von Putlitz, who insisted upon making an obstinate defence, "as a revolutionist," from the military council. Being advised by one of the citizens to fire upon the enemy, he rudely replied, "Sir, you do not know what one shot costs the king." In Breslau, the Counts von Thiele and Lindner made a terrible fracas, burnt down the fine faubourgs, and blew up the powder-magazine, merely in order to veil the disgrace of a hasty capitulation, which enraged the soldiery to such a pitch, that, shattering their muskets, they heaped imprecations on their dastard commanders, and, in revenge, plundered the royal stores. Brieg was ceded after a two days' siege, by the Baron von Cornerut. The defence of the strong fortress of Schweidnitz, of such celebrated importance during the seven years' war, had been intrusted to Count von Haath, a man whose countenance even betokened imbecility. He yielded the fortress without a blow, and, on the windows of the apartment in which he lodged in the neighbouring town of Jauer being broken by the patriotic citizens, he went down to the landlord, to whom he said, "My good sir, you must have some enemies!" The remaining fortresses made a better defence. Glatz was taken by surprise, the city by storm. The fortress was defended by the commandant, Count Götzen, until ammunition sufficient for twelve days longer alone remained. Neisse capitulated from famine; Kosel was gallantly defended by the commandant, Neumann; and Silberberg, situated on an impregnable rock, refused to surrender.

The troops of the Rhenish confederation, encouraged by the bad example set by Vandamme and by several of the superior officers, committed dreadful havoc, plundered the country, robbed and barbarously treated the inhabitants. It was quite a common custom among the officers, on the conclusion of a meal, to carry away with them the whole of their host's table-service. The filthy habits of the French officers were notorious. Their conduct is said to have been not only countenanced but commanded by Napoleon, as a sure means of striking the enervated population with the profoundest terror; and the panic in fact almost amounted to absurdity, the inhabitants of this thickly-populated province no where venturing to rise against the handful of robbers by whom they were so cruelly persecuted. A Baron von Pückler offered an individual exception: his endeavours to rouse the inert masses met with no success, and, rendered desperate by his failure, he blew out his brains. When too late, a prince Von Anhalt-Pless assembled an armed force in Upper Silesia and attempted to relieve Breslau, but Thiele neglecting to make a sally at the decisive moment, the Poles in Prince Pless's small army took to flight, and the whole plan miscarried. A small Prussian corps, amounting to about five hundred men, commanded by Losthin, afterwards infested Silesia, surprised the French under Lefebvre at Kanth and put them to the rout, but were a few days after this exploit taken prisoners by a superior French force.

Attempts at reforms suited to the spirit of the age had, even before the outbreak of war, been made in Prussia by men of higher intelligence; Menken, for instance, had laboured to effect the emancipation of the peasantry, but had been removed from office by the aristocratic party. During the war, the corruption pervading every department of the government, whether civil or military, was fully exposed, and Frederick William III. was taught by bitter experience to pursue a better system, to act with decision and patient determination. The Baron von Stein, a man of undoubted talent, a native of Nassau, was placed at the head of the government; two of the most able commanders of the day, Gneisenau and Scharnhorst, undertook the reorganization of the army. On the 1st of December, 1806, the king cashiered every commandant who had neglected to defend the fortress

intrusted to his care and every officer guilty of desertion or cowardly flight, and the long list of names gave disgraceful proof of the extent to which the nobility were compromised. One of the first measures taken by the king was, consequently, to throw open every post of distinction in the army to the citizens. The old inconvenient uniform and fire-arms were at the same time improved, the queue was cut off, the cane abandoned. The royal army was indeed scanty in number, but it contained within itself germs of honour and patriotism that gave promise of future glory.

The reform, however, but slowly progressed. Ferdinand von Schill, a Prussian lieutenant, who had been wounded at Jena, formed, in Pomerania, a guerilla troop of disbanded soldiery and young men, who, although indifferently provided with arms, stopped the French convoys and couriers. His success was so extraordinary, that he was sometimes enabled to send sums of money, taken from the enemy, to the king. Among other exploits, he took prisoner Marshal Victor, who was exchanged for Blücher. Blücher assembled a fresh body of troops on the island of Rügen. Schill, being afterwards compelled to take refuge from the pursuit of the French in the fortress of Colberg, the commandant, Loucadou, placed him under arrest for venturing to criticise the bad defence of the place.

The king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus IV., might with perfect justice have bitterly reproached Prussia and Austria for the folly with which they had, by their disunion, contributed to the aggrandizement of the power of France. He acted nobly by affording a place of refuge to the Prussians at Stralsund and Rügen.

Colberg was, on Loucadou's dismissal, gloriously defended by Gneisenau and by the resolute citizens, among whom Nettelbek, a man seventy years of age, chiefly distinguished himself. Courbiere acted with equal gallantry at Graudenz. On being told by the French that Prussia was in their hands and that no king of Prussia was any longer in existence, he replied, "Well, be it so! but I am king at Graudenz." Pillau was also successfully defended by Herrmann.* Polish

* Courbiere, Herrmann, and Neumann of Cosel were bourgeois: the commandants of the other fortresses, so disgracefully ceded, were, without exception, nobles.

Prussia naturally fell off on the advance of the French. Kalisch rose in open insurrection; the Prussian authorities were every where compelled to save themselves by flight from the vengeance of the people. Poland had been termed the Botany Bay of Prussia, government officers in disgrace for bad conduct being generally sent there by way of punishment. No one voluntarily accepted an appointment condemning him to dwell amid a population inspired by the most ineradicable national hatred, glowing with revenge, and unable to appreciate the benefits bestowed upon them in their ignorance and poverty by the wealthier and more civilized Prussian.

The king had withdrawn with the remainder of his troops, which were commanded by the gallant L'Estoc, to Königsberg, where he formed a junction with the Russian army, which was led by a Hanoverian, the cautious Bennigsen, and accompanied by the emperor Alexander in person. Napoleon expected that an opportunity would be afforded for the repetition of his old manœuvre of separating and falling singly upon his opponents, but Bennigsen kept his forces together and offered him battle at Eylau, in the neighbourhood of Königsberg; victory still wavered, when the Prussian troops under L'Estoc fell furiously upon Marshal Ney's flank, whilst that general was endeavouring to surround the Russians, and decided the day. It was the 8th of February, and the snow-clad ground was stained with gore. Napoleon, after this catastrophe, remained inactive, awaiting the opening of spring and the arrival of reinforcements. Dantzig, exposed by the desertion of the Poles, fell, although defended by Kalkreuth, into his hands, and, on the 14th of June, 1807, the anniversary, so pregnant with important events, of the battle of Marengo, he gained a brilliant victory at Friedland, which was followed by General Ruchel's abandonment of Königsberg with all its stores.

The road to Lithuania now lay open to the French, and the emperor Alexander deemed it advisable to conclude peace. A conference was held at Tilsit on the Riemen between the sovereigns of France, Russia, and Prussia, and a peace, highly detrimental to Germany, was concluded on the 9th of July, 1807. Prussia lost half of her territory, was restricted to the maintenance of an army merely amounting

to forty-two thousand men, was compelled to pay a contribution of one hundred and forty millions of francs to France, and to leave her most important fortresses as security for payment in the hands of the French. These grievous terms were merely acceded to by Napoleon "out of esteem for his Majesty the emperor of Russia," who, on his part, deprived his late ally of a piece of Prussian-Poland (Bialystock) and divided the spoil of Prussia with Napoleon.* Nay, he went, some months later, so far in his — generosity, as, on an understanding with Napoleon and without deigning any explanation to Prussia, arbitrarily to cancel an article of the peace of Tilsit, by which Prussia was indemnified for the loss of Hanover with a territory containing four hundred thousand souls.

The Prussian possessions on the left bank of the Elbe, Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse-Cassel,† were converted by Napoleon into the new kingdom of Westphalia, which he bestowed upon his brother Jerome and included in the Rhenish confederation. East Frizeland was annexed to Holland. Poland was not restored, but a petty grand-duchy of Warsaw was

* Bignon remarks that the queen, Louisa, who left no means untried in order to save as much as possible of Prussia, came somewhat too late, when Napoleon had already entered into an agreement with Russia. Hence Napoleon's inflexibility, which was the more insulting owing to the apparently yielding silence with which, from a feeling of politeness, he sometimes received the personal petitions of the queen, to which he would afterwards send a written refusal. The part played in this affair by Alexander was far from honourable, and Bignon says with great justice, "The emperor of Russia must at that time have had but little judgment, if he imagined that taking Prussia in such a manner under his protection would be honourable to the protector." With a view of appeasing public opinion in Germany and influencing it in favour of the alliance between France and Russia, Zchokke, who was at that time in Napoleon's pay, published a mean-spirited pamphlet, entitled, "Will the human race gain by the present political changes?"

† The elector, William, who had solicited permission to remain neutral, having made great military preparations and received the Prussians with open arms, was, in Napoleon's twenty-seventh bulletin, deposed with expressions of the deepest contempt. "The house of Hesse-Cassel has for many years past sold its subjects to England, and by this means has the elector collected his immense wealth. May this mean and avaricious conduct prove the ruin of his house."——Louis, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, was threatened with similar danger for inclining on the side of Prussia, but perceived his peril in time to save himself from destruction.

erected, which Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, received, together with the royal dignity. Prussia, already greatly diminished in extent, was to be still further encroached upon and watched by these new states. The example of electoral Saxony was imitated by the petty Saxon princes, and Anhalt, Lippe, Schwarzburg, Reuss, Mecklenburg, and Aldenburg joined the Rhenish confederation. Dantzig became a nominal free-town with a French garrison.*

The brave Hessians resisted this fresh act of despotism. The Hessian troops revolted, but were put down by force, and their leader, a serjeant, rushed franticly into the enemy's fire. The Hessian peasantry also rose in several places. The Hanse towns, on the contrary, meekly allowed themselves to be pillaged and to be robbed of their stores of English goods.

Gustavus Adolphus IV. of Sweden, who had neglected to send troops at an earlier period to the aid of Prussia, now offered the sturdiest resistance and steadily refused to negotiate terms of peace or to recognise Napoleon as emperor. His generals, Armfeldt† and Essen, made some successful inroads from Stralsund, and, in unison with the English, might have effected a strong diversion to Napoleon's rear, had their movements been more rapid and combined. On the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, a French force under Mortier appeared, drove the Swedes back upon Stralsund, and compelled the king, in the August of 1807, to abandon that city, which the new system of warfare rendered no longer tenable.

CCLV. *The Rhenish Confederation.*

THE whole of western Europe bent in lowly submission be-

* Marshal Lefebvre, who had taken the city, was created duke of Dantzig. The city, however, did not belong to him, but became a republic; notwithstanding which, it was at first compelled to pay a contribution, amounting to twenty million francs, to Napoleon, to maintain a strong French garrison at its expense, and was fleeced in every imaginable way. A stop was consequently put to trade, the wealthiest merchants became bankrupt, and Napoleon's satraps established their harems and celebrated their orgies in their magnificent houses and gardens, and, by their unbridled licence, demoralized to an almost incredible degree the staid manners of the quondam pious Lutheran citizens. Vide Blech, The Miseries of Dantzig, 1815.

† One of the handsomest men of his time and the Adonis of many a princely dame.

fore the genius of Napoleon; Russia was bound by the silken chains of flattery; England, Turkey, Sweden, and Portugal, alone bade him defiance. England, whose fleets ruled the European seas, who lent her aid to his enemies, and instigated their opposition, was his most dangerous foe. By a gigantic measure, known as the continental system, he sought to undermine her power. The whole of the continent of Europe, as far as his influence was felt, was, by an edict, published at Berlin on the 21st of November, 1806, closed against British trade; nay, he went so far as to lay an embargo on all English goods lying in store and to make prisoners of war of all the English at that time on the continent. All intercourse between England and the rest of Europe was prohibited. But Napoleon's attempt to ruin the commerce of England was merely productive of injury to himself; the promotion of every branch of industry on the continent could not replace the loss of its foreign trade; the products of Europe no longer found their way to the more distant parts of the globe to be exchanged for colonial luxuries, which, with the great majority of the people, more particularly with the better classes, had become necessaries, and numbers, who had but lately lauded Napoleon to the skies, regarded him with bitter rage on being compelled to relinquish their wonted coffee and sugar.

Napoleon, meanwhile, undeterred by opposition, enforced his continental system. Russia, actuated by jealousy of England and flattered by the idea, with which Napoleon had, at Tilsit, inspired the emperor Alexander, of sharing with him the empire of a world, aided his projects. The first step was to secure to themselves possession of the Baltic; the king of Sweden, Napoleon's most implacable foe, was to be dethroned, and Sweden to be promised to Frederick, prince-regent of Denmark, in order to draw him into the interests of the allied powers of France and Russia. The scheme, however, transpired in time to be frustrated. An English fleet, with an army, amongst which was the German Legion, composed of Hanoverian refugees, on board, attacked, and, after a fearful bombardment, took Copenhagen, and either destroyed or carried off the whole of the Danish fleet, Sept. 1807.* The British fleet, on its triumphant return through the Sound, was saluted

* See accounts of this affair in the Recollections of a Legionary, Hanover, 1826, and in Beamisch's History of the Legion.

at Helsingfors by the king of Sweden, who invited the admirals to breakfast. The island of Heligoland, which belonged to Holstein and consequently formed part of the possessions of Denmark, and which carried on a great smuggling trade between that country and the continent, was at that time also seized by the British.

Napoleon revenged himself by a bold stroke in Spain. He proposed the partition of Portugal to that power, and, under that pretext, sent troops across the Pyrenees. The licentious queen of Spain, Maria Louisa Theresa of Parma, and her paramour, Godoy, who had, on account of the treaty between France and Spain, received the title of Prince of Peace, reigned at that time in the name of the imbecile king, Charles IV. His son, Ferdinand, placed himself at the head of the democratic faction, by whom Godoy was regarded with the most deadly hatred. Both parties, however, conscious of their want of power, sought aid from Napoleon, who flattered each in turn, with a view of rendering the one a tool for the destruction of the other. The Prince of Peace was overthrown by a popular tumult; Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed king, and his father, Charles IV., was compelled to abdicate. These events were apparently countenanced by Napoleon, who invited the youthful sovereign to an interview; Ferdinand, accordingly, went to Bayonne and was—taken prisoner. The Prince of Peace, on the eve of flying from Spain, where his life was no longer safe, with his treasures and with the queen, persuaded the old king, Charles, also to go to Bayonne, where his person was instantly seized. Both he and his son were compelled to renounce their right to the throne of Spain and to abdicate in favour of Joseph, Napoleon's brother, the 5th of May, 1808. The elevation of Joseph to the Spanish throne was followed by that of Murat to the throne of Naples. The haughty Spaniard, however, refused to be trampled under foot, and his proud spirit disdained to accept a king imposed upon him by such unparalleled treachery. Napoleon's victorious troops were, for the first time, routed by peasants, an entire army was taken prisoner at Baylen, and another, in Portugal, was compelled to retreat. Napoleon's veterans were scattered by monks and peasants, a proof, to the eternal disgrace of every subject people, that the invincibility of a nation depends but upon its will.

Napoleon did not conduct the war in Spain in person during the first campaign; the tranquillity of the North had first to be secured. For this purpose, he held a personal conference, in October, 1808, with the emperor Alexander at Erfurt, whither the princes of Germany hastened to pay their devoirs, humbly as their ancestors of yore to conquering Attila. The company of actors brought in Napoleon's train from Paris boasted of gaining the plaudits of a royal parterre, and a French sentinel happening to call to the watch to present arms to one of the kings there dancing attendance was reproved by his officer with the observation, "Ce n'est qu'un roi."* Both emperors, for the purpose of offering a marked insult to Prussia, attended a great hare-hunt on the battle-field of Jena. It was during this conference, that Napoleon and Alexander divided between themselves the sovereignty of

* A graphic description of these times is to be met with in Joanna Schopenhauer's Tour on the Lower Rhine. The kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Westphalia, Saxony, the prince primate, the hereditary prince of Baden and of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the duke of Weimar, the princes of Hohenzollern, Hesse-Rotenburg, and Hesse-Philippsthal, were present. No one belonging to the house of Austria was there: of that of Prussia there was Prince William, the king's brother. The Allgemeine Zeitung of that day wrote: "The fact of Napoleon's sending for the privy-counsellor, Von Gœthe, into his cabinet, and conversing with him for upwards of an hour, appears to us well worthy of mention. What German would not rejoice that the great emperor should have entered into such deep conversation with such a fitting representative of our noblest, and now, alas, sole remaining national possession, our art and learning, by whose preservation alone can our nationality be saved from utter annihilation." Notwithstanding which, the company of actors belonging to the theatre at Weimar, which was close at hand and had been under Gœthe's instruction, was not once allowed to perform on the Erfurt stage, which Napoleon had supplied with actors from Paris. Wieland was also compelled to remain standing for an hour in Napoleon's presence, and when, at length, unable, owing to the weakness of old age, to continue in that position, he ventured to ask permission to retire, Napoleon is said to have considered the request an unwarrantable liberty. The literary heroes of Weimar took no interest in the country from which they had received so deep a tribute of admiration. Not a patriotic sentiment escaped their lips. At the time when the deepest wound was inflicted on the Tyrol, Gœthe gave to the world his frivolous "Wahlverwandschaften," which was followed by a poem in praise of Napoleon, of whom he says:

> "Doubts, that have baffled thousands, *he* has solved;
> Ideas, o'er which centuries have brooded,
> *His* giant mind intuitively compassed."

Europe, Russia undertaking the subjugation of Sweden and the seizure of Finnland, France the conquest of Spain and Portugal.

The period immediately subsequent to the fall of the ancient empire forms the blackest page in the history of Germany. The whole of the left bank of the Rhine was annexed to France. The people, notwithstanding the improvement that took place in the administration under Bon Jean St. André, groaned beneath the exorbitant taxes and the conscription. The commerce on the Rhine had almost entirely ceased.*——The grand-duchy of Berg was, until 1808, governed with great mildness by Avar, the French minister.—— Holland had, since 1801, remained under the administration of her benevolent governor, Schimmelpenninck, but had been continually drained by the imposition of additional income-taxes, which, in 1804, amounted to 6 per cent. on the capital in the country. Commerce had entirely ceased, smuggling alone excepted. In 1806, the Dutch were commanded to entreat Napoleon to grant them a king in the person of his brother Louis, who fixed his residence in the venerable council-house at Amsterdam, and, it must be confessed, endeavoured to promote the real interests of his new subjects.†

The Swiss, with characteristic servility, testified the greatest zeal on every occasion for the emperor Napoleon, celebrated his fête-day, and boasted of his protection ‡ and of the freedom they were still permitted to enjoy. Freedom of thought was expressly prohibited. Sycophants, in the pay of the foreign ruler, as, for instance, Zschokke, alone guided public opinion. In Zug, any person who ventured to speak disparagingly of the Swiss in the service of France, was declared an enemy to his country and exposed to severe punish-

* The great and dangerous robber bands of the notorious Damian Hessel, and of Schinderhannes, afford abundant proof of the demoralized condition of the people.

† On the 12th of January, 1807, a ship laden with four hundred quintals of gunpowder blew up in the middle of the city of Leyden, part of which was thereby reduced to ruins, and one hundred and fifty persons, among others, the celebrated professors, Luzac and Kleit, were killed.

‡ On the opening of the federal diet in 1806, the Landamman lauded "the omnipotent benevolence of the gracious mediator." In earlier times, the Swiss would, on the contrary, have boasted of their affording protection to, not of receiving protection from, France.

ment.* The Swiss shed their blood in each and all of Napoleon's campaigns and aided him to reduce their kindred nations to abject slavery.†

The Rhenish confederacy shared the advantages of French influence to the same degree in which they, in common with the old states on the left bank of the Rhine, were subject to ecclesiastical corruption or to the upstart vanity incidental to petty states. Wherever enlightenment and liberty had formerly existed, as in Protestant and constitutional Würtemberg, the violation of the ancient rights of the people was deeply felt, and the new aristocracy, modelled on that of France, appeared as unbearable to the older inhabitants of Würtemberg as did the loss of their ancient independence to the mediatized princes and lordlings. King Frederick, notwithstanding his refusal to send troops into Spain, was compelled to furnish an enormous contingent for the wars in eastern Europe; the conscription and taxes were heavily felt, and the peasant was vexed by the great hunts, celebrated by Matthisson, the court-poet, as festivals of Diana.‡ In Ba-

* Allgemeine Zeitung of 1810, No. 90. "In order to prove of what importance they considered the benevolent protection of Napoleon the Great."

† Their general, Von der Wied, who was taken prisoner at Talavera in Spain and died shortly afterwards of a pestilential disease, had done signal service to France, in 1798 in Switzerland, in 1792 in Italy, in 1805 in Austria, in 1806 in Prussia, and finally in Spain.—*Allgemeine Zeitung of* 1811, *No.* 46.

‡ Personal freedom was restricted by innumerable decrees. Freedom of speech, formerly great in Würtemberg, was strictly repressed; all social confidence was annihilated. A swarm of informers insnared those whom the secret police were unable to entrap. The secrecy of letters was violated. Trials in criminal cases were no longer allowed to be public. The sentence passed upon the accused was, particularly in cases of the highest import, not delivered by the judge as dictated by the law, but by the despot's caprice.——The conscription was enforced with increased severity and tyranny.——The natural right of emigration was abolished.——The people were disarmed, and not even the inhabitants of solitary farms and hamlets were allowed to possess arms in order to defend themselves against wolves and robbers. A man was punished for killing a mad dog, because the gun used for that purpose had been illegally secreted. Pass-tickets were given to and returned by all desirous of passing the gates of the pettiest town. The members of the higher aristocracy were compelled, under pain of being deprived of the third of their income, to spend three months in the year at court.—— The citizen was oppressed by a variety of fresh taxes, by the newly-

varia, the administration of Maximilian Joseph and of his minister, Montgelas, although arbitrary in its measures, promoted, like that of Frederick II. and Joseph II., the advance of enlightenment and true liberty. The monasteries were closed, the punishment of the rack was abolished, unity was introduced in the administration of the state; the schools, the police, and the roads were improved, toleration was established; in a word, the dreams of the illuminati, thirty years before this period, were, in almost every respect, realized. But, on the other hand, patriotism was here more unknown than in any other part of Germany. Christopher von Aretin set himself up as an apparitor to the French police, and, in 1810, published a work against the few German patriots still remaining, whom he denounced, in the fourteenth number of the Literary Gazette of Upper Germany, as "Preachers of Germanism, criminals and traitors, by whom the Rhenish confederation was polluted." The crown-prince of Bavaria, who deeply lamented the rule of France and the miseries of Germany, offers a contrary example. A constitution, naturally a mere tool in the hand of the ministry, was bestowed, in 1808, upon Bavaria.

The government of Charles von Dalberg, the prince-primate and grand-duke of Frankfurt, was one of the most despicable of those composing the Rhenish confederation. Equally insensible to the duties attached to his high name and station,* he flattered the foreign tyrant to an extent unsurpassed by any of the other base sycophants at that time abounding in the empire; with folded hands would he at all times invoke the blessing of the Most High on the head of the almighty ruler of the earth, and celebrate each of his victories with hymns of

created monopolies of tobacco, salt, etc., and colonial imposts, by the tenfold rise of the excise and custom-house dues, etc. Vide Zahn in the Würtemberg Annual. Zschokke, meanwhile, in his pamphlet, already mentioned, "Will the human race gain," etc., advocated republican equality and liberty under a monarchical constitution.

* The Von Dalbergs of Franconia were the first hereditary barons of the Holy Roman Empire, and one of their race was dubbed knight at each imperial coronation. Hence the demand of the imperial herald, "Is no Dalberg here?" And a Dalberg it was, who, in Napoleon's name, declared to the German emperor that he no longer recognised an emperor of Germany.——In 1797, Dalberg had, at the diet, and again in 1805, expressed himself with great zeal against France; on the present occasion he was Napoleon's first satrap.

gratitude and joy, whilst his ministers misruled and tyrannized over the country,* whose freedom they loudly vaunted.†—— In Würzburg, the French ambassador reigned with the despotism of an eastern satrap.‡ Saxe-Coburg§ and Anhalt-Gotha,‖ where the native tyrant was sheltered beneath the wing of Napoleon, were in the most lamentable state.——In Saxony, the government remained unaltered. Frederick Augustus, filled with gratitude for the lenity with which he had been treated after the war and for the grant of the royal dignity, remained steadily faithful to Napoleon, but introduced no internal innovations into the government. The adhesion of Saxe-Weimar to the Rhenish confederation was of deplorable consequence to Germany, the great poets assembled there by the deceased Duchess Amalia also scattering incense around Napoleon.

The kingdom of Westphalia was doomed to taste to the dregs the bitter cup of humiliation. The new king, Jerome, who declared, "Je veux qu'on respecte la dignité de l'homme et du citoyen," bestowed, it is true, many and great benefits upon his subjects; the system of flogging, so degrading to the soldier, was abolished, the judicature was improved, the administration simplified, and the German in authority, notwithstand-

* They sold the demesnes of Hanau and Fulda and received the sums produced by the sale in gift from the grand-duke.—*Görres's Rhenish Mercury*, A. D. 1814, *No.* 168.

† They were barefaced enough to bestow a constitution, and, in 1810, to open a diet at Hanau, although all the newspapers had, five days previously, been suppressed, and orders had been issued that the editor of the only newspaper permitted for the future was to be appointed by the police.—*Allgemeine Zeitung*, *No.* 294.

‡ Count Montholon-Semonville sold justice and mercy. Vide Brockhaus's Deutsche Blätter, 1814, No. 101.

§ The duke, Francis, allowed the country to be mercilessly drained and impoverished by the minister, Von Kretschmann. He lived on extremely bad terms with his uncle, Frederick Josias, duke of Coburg, the celebrated Austrian general. Francis died in 1806. Ernest, his son and successor, delivered the country, A. D. 1809, from Kretschmann's tyranny, and, in 1811, bestowed upon it a constitution, which was, nevertheless, merely an imitation of that of Westphalia.

‖ The prince, Augustus Christian Frederick, contracted debts to an enormous amount, completely drained his petty territory, and even seized bail-money. Military amusements, drunkenness and other gross excesses, the preservation of enormous herds of deer which destroyed the fields of the peasantry, formed the pleasures of this prince.—*Stenzel's History of Anhalt.*

ing his traditionary gruffness, became remarkable for urbanity towards the citizens and peasants. But Napoleon's despotic rule ever demanded fresh sacrifices of men and money and increased severity on the part of the police, in order to quell the spirit of revolt. Jerome, conscious of being merely his brother's representative, consoled himself for his want of independence in his gay court at Cassel.* He had received but a middling education, and had, at one period, held a situation in the marine at Baltimore in North America. Whilst still extremely young, placed unexpectedly upon a throne, more as a splendid puppet than as an independent sovereign, he gave way to excesses, natural, and, under the circumstances, almost excusable. It would be ungenerous to repeat the sarcasms showered upon him on his expulsion. The execrations heaped, at a later period, upon his head, ought with far greater justice to have fallen upon those of the Germans themselves, and more particularly upon those of that portion of the aristocracy who vied with the French in enriching the chronique scandaleuse of Cassel, and upon those of the citizens who, under Bongars, the head of the French police, acted the part of spies upon and secret informers against their wretched countrymen. ——The farcical donation of a free constitution to the people put a climax to their degradation. On the 2nd of July, 1808, Jerome summoned the Westphalian Estates to Cassel and opened the servile assembly, thus arbitrarily convoked, with extreme pomp. The unfortunate deputies, who had, on the conclusion of the lengthy ceremonial, received an invitation *assister au répas* at the palace and had repaired thither, their imaginations, whetted by hunger, revelling in visions of gastronomic delight, were sorely discomfited on discovering that they were simply expected "to look on whilst the sovereign feasted." The result of this assembly was, naturally, an unanimous tribute of admiration and an invocation of blessings on the head of the foreign ruler, the principal part in which was played by John Müller, who attempted to convince

* Napoleon nicknamed him *roi de coulisses*, and gave him a guardian in his ambassador, Reinhard, a person of celebrity during the Revolution. Jerome's first ministers were friends of his youth; the Creole, Le Camus, who was created Count Fürstenstein, and Malchus, whose office it was to fill a bottomless treasury. Vide Hormayr, Archive 5. 458, and the Secret History of the Court of Westphalia, A. D. 1814.

his fellow countrymen that by means of the French usurpation they had first received the boon of true liberty. This cheaply-bought apostate said, in his usual hyperbolical style, "It is a marked peculiarity of the northern nations, more especially of those of German descent, that, whenever God has, in his wisdom, resolved to bestow upon them a new kind or a higher degree of civilization, the impulse has ever been given from without. This impulse was given to us by Napoleon, by him before whom the earth is silent, God having given the whole world into his hand, nor can Germany at the present period have a wish ungratified, Napoleon having reorganized her as the nursery of European civilization. Too sublime to condescend to every-day polity, he has given durability to Germany! Happy nation! what an interminable vista of glory opens to thy view!" Thus spoke John Müller. Thousands of Germans had been converted into abject slaves, but none other than he was there ever found, with sentimental phrases to gild the chains of his countrymen, to vaunt servility as liberty and dishonour as glory.* John Müller's unprincipled

* Vide Strombeck's Life and the Allgemeine Zeitung of Sept., 1808. Besides John Müller and Aretin, mention may, with equal justice, be made of Crome of Geissen and Zschokke, a native of Magdeburg naturalized in Switzerland, who, in 1807, ventured to declare in public that Napoleon had done more for Swiss independence than William Tell five hundred years ago; who, paid by Napoleon, defamed the noble-spirited Spaniards and Tyrolese in 1815, decried the enthusiastic spirit animating Germany, and afterwards whitewashed himself by his liberal tirades. With these may also be associated Murhard, the publisher of the *Moniteur Westphalien*, K. J. Schütz, the author of a work upon Napoleon, the Berlinese Jew, Saul Asher, the author of a scandalous work, entitled "Germanomanie," and of a slanderous article in Zschokke's Miscellanies against Prussia, Kosegarten the poet, who, in 1809, delivered a speech in eulogy of Napoleon, far surpassing all in bombast and mean adulation. Benturini, at that time, also termed Napoleon the emanation of the universal Spirit, a second incarnation of the Deity, a second saviour of the world. In Posselt's European Annals of 1807, a work by a certain W. upon the political interests of Germany appeared, and concluded as follows: "Let us raise to him (Napoleon) a national monument, worthy of the first and only benefactor of the nations of Germany. Let his name be engraved in gigantic letters of shining gold on Germany's highest and steepest pinnacle, whence, lighted by the effulgent rays of morn, it may be visible far over the plains on which he bestowed a happier futurity!" This writer also drew a comparison between Napoleon and Charlemagne, in which he designated the latter a barbarous despot and the former the new saviour of the world. He says, "Napoleon first solved the enigma

address formed, as it were, the turning-point of German affairs. Self-degradation could go no further. The spirit of the sons of Germany henceforward rose, and, with manly courage, they sought, by their future actions, to wipe off the deep stain of their former guilt and dishonour.

CCLVI. *Resuscitation of patriotism throughout Germany. Austria's demonstration.*

The general slavery, although most severely felt in Eastern Germany, bore there a less disgraceful character. Austria and Prussia had been conquered, pillaged, reduced in strength and political importance, whilst the Rhenish states, forgetful that it is ever less disgraceful to yield to an overpowering enemy than voluntarily to lend him aid, had shared in and profited by the triumph of the empire's foe. Austria and Prussia suffered to a greater extent than the Rhenish confederation, but they preserved a higher degree of independence. Prussia, although almost annihilated by her late disasters,* still

of equality and liberty—his chief aim was the prevention of despotism—his chief desire, to eternalize the dominion of virtue." In the course of 1808, it was said in the essay "on the Regeneration of Germany," that the Germans were still children whom it was solely possible for the French to educate: "Our language is also not logical like French—if we intend to attain unity, we must adhere with heart and soul to him who has smoothed the path to it, to him, our securest support, to him, whose name outshines that of Charlemagne,—foreign princes in German countries are no proof of subjection, they, on the contrary, most surely warrant our continued existence as a nation." In France sixty authors dedicated their works, within the space of a year, to the emperor Napoleon,—in Germany, ninety.

* The whole of the revenues of Prussia were confiscated by the French until 1808. The contribution of one hundred and forty millions was, nevertheless, to be paid, and the French garrisons in the Prussian fortresses of Glogau, Küstrin, and Stettin were to be maintained at the expense of Prussia. The suppression of the monasteries in Silesia was far from lucrative, the commissioners, who were irresponsible, carrying on a system of pillage, and landed property having greatly fallen in value. The most extraordinary imposts of every description were resorted to for the purpose of raising a revenue, among other means, a third of all the gold and silver in the country was called in. A coinage, still more debased, was issued, and one more inferior still was smuggled into the country by English coiners. In 1808, silver money fell two-thirds of its current value and was even refused acceptance at that price.——The French, moreover, lorded over the country with redoubled insolence,

dreamt of future liberation. Austria had, notwithstanding her successive and numerous defeats, retained the greater share of independence, but her subjection, although to a lesser degree, was the more disgraceful on account of her former military glory and her preponderance as a political power in Germany. With steady perseverance and unfaltering courage she opposed the attacks of the foreign tyrant against the empire, and, France's first and last antagonist, the most faithful champion of the honour of Germany, she rose, with redoubled vigour, after each successive defeat, to renew the unequal struggle.

Prussia had been overcome, because, instead of uniting with the other states of Germany, she had first abandoned them to be afterwards deserted by them in her turn, and because, instead of arming her warlike people against every foreign foe, she had habituated her citizens to unarmed effeminacy and had rested her sole support on a mercenary army, an artificial and spiritless automaton, separated from and unsympathizing with the people. The idea that the salvation of Prussia could now alone be found in her reconciliation with the neighbouring powers of Germany, in a general confederation, in the patriotism of her armed citizens, had already arisen. But, in order to inspire the citizen with enthusiasm, he must first, by the secure and free possession of his rights and by his participation in the public weal, be deeply imbued with a consciousness of freedom. The slave has no country; the freeman alone will lay down his life in its defence. In those times of Germany's deepest degradation and suffering, men for the first time again heard speak of a great and common fatherland, of national fame and honour; and liberty, that glorious name, was uttered not only by those who groaned beneath the rule of the despotic foreigner, but even by those who deplored the loss of the internal liberty of their country, the gradual subjection of the proud and free-spirited German to native tyranny. The king of Prus-

broke every treaty, increased their garrisons, and occasionally laid the most inopportune commands, in the form of a request, upon the king, as, for instance, to lay under embargo and deliver up to them a number of English merchantmen that had been driven into the Prussian harbours by a dreadful storm. Blücher, at that time governor of Pomerania, restrained his fiery nature and patiently endured their insolence, whilst silently brooding over deep and implacable revenge.

sia, not content with morally reorganizing his army, also bestowed wise laws, which restored the citizen and the peasant to their rights, to their dignity as men, of which they had for so long been deprived by the nobility, the monopolizers of every privilege. The emancipation of the peasant essentially consisted in the abolition of feudal servitude and forced labour; that of the citizen, in the donation of a free municipal constitution, of self-administration, and freedom of election. The nobility were, at the same time, despoiled of the exclusive appointment to the higher civil and military posts and of the exclusive possession of landed property. Each citizen possessed the right, hitherto strictly prohibited, of purchasing baronial estates, and the nobility were, on their part, permitted to exercise trades, which a miserable prejudice had hitherto deemed incompatible with noble birth. These new institutions date from 1808 and are due to the energy of the minister, Stein.

This noble-spirited German was the founder of a secret society, the *Tugendbund*, by which a general insurrection against Napoleon was silently prepared throughout Germany. Among its members were numerous statesmen, officers, and literati. Among the latter, Arndt gained great note by his popular style, Jahn by his influence over the rising generation. Jahn reintroduced gymnastics, so long neglected, into education, as a means of heightening moral courage by the increase of physical strength.* Scharnhorst, meanwhile, although restricted to the prescribed number of troops, created a new army by continually exchanging trained soldiers for raw recruits, and secretly purchased an immense quantity of arms, so that a considerable force could, in case of necessity, be speedily assembled. He also had all the brass battery guns secretly converted into field-pieces and replaced by iron guns. Napoleon's spies, however, came upon the trace of the *Tugendbund*. Stein, exposed by an intercepted letter, was outlawed† by Napoleon and compelled to quit Prussia. He

* When marching with his pupils out of Berlin, he would ask the fresh ones as he passed beneath the Brandenburg gate, "What are you thinking of now?" If the boy did not know what to answer, he would give him a box on the ear, saying as he did so, "You should think of this, how you can bring back the four fine statues of horses that once stood over this gate and were carried by the French to Paris."

† Decree of 16th December, 1808: "A certain Stein, who is attempt-

was succeeded by Hardenberg, by whom the treaty of Basle had formerly been concluded and whose nomination was publicly approved of by Napoleon. Scharnhorst and Julius Gruner, the head of the Berlin police, were also deprived of their offices. The Berlin university, nevertheless, continued to give evidence of a better spirit. Enlightenment and learning, on the decrease at Frankfurt on the Oder, here found their head-quarters. Halle had become Westphalian, and the universities of Rinteln and Helmstädt had, from a similar cause, been closed.

Austria also felt her humiliation too deeply not to be inspired, like Prussia, with an instinct of self-preservation. The imperial dignity and catholicism were here closely associated with the memory of the middle ages, whose magnificence and grandeur were once more disclosed to the people in the masterly productions of the writers of the day. Hence the unison created by Frederick Schlegel between the romantic poets and antiquarians of Germany and Viennese policy. The predilection for ancient German art and poetry had, in the literary world, been merely produced by the reaction of German intelligence against foreign imitation; this literary reaction, however, happened coincidently with and aided that in the political world. The Nibelungen, the Minnesingers, the ancient chronicles, became a popular study. The same enthusiasm inspired the liberal-spirited poets, Tieck, Arnim, and Brentano; Fouqué charmed the rising generation and the multitude with his extravagant descriptions of the age of chivalry; the learned researches of Grimm, Hagen, Büsching, Gräter, etc., into German antiquity, at that time, excited general interest, but the glowing colours in which Joseph Görres, himself a former Jacobin, and amid the half Gallicized inhabitants of Coblentz, revived, as if by magic, the middle age on the ruin-strewed banks of the Rhine caused the deepest delight. Two men, Stein, now a refugee in Austria, and Count Münster, first of all Hanoverian minister and afterwards English ambassador at Petersburg, who kept

ing to create disturbances, is herewith declared the enemy of France; his property shall be placed under sequestration, and his person shall be secured." The Allgemeine Zeitung warns, at the same time, in its 330th number, all German savants not to give way to patriotic enthusiasm and to follow in John Müller's footsteps.

up a constant correspondence with Stein and conducted the secret negotiations in the name of Great Britain, were unwearied in their endeavours to forge arms against Napoleon. In Austria, Count John Philip von Stadion, who had, since the December of 1805, been placed at the head of the ministry, had both the power and the will to repair the blunders committed by Thugut and Cobenzl.

The Russo-gallic alliance was viewed with terror by Austria. Europe had, to a certain degree, been partitioned at Erfurt, by Napoleon and Alexander. Fresh sacrifices were evidently on the eve of being extorted from Germany. Russia had resolved at any price to gain possession of either the whole or a part of Turkey, and offered to confirm Napoleon in that of Bohemia, on condition of being permitted to seize Moldavia and Wallachia.* The danger was urgent. Austria, sold by Russia to France, could alone defend herself against both her opponents by an immense exertion of the national power of Germany. The old and faulty system had been fearfully revenged. The disunion of the German princes, the despotism of the aristocratic administrations, the estrangement of the people from all public affairs, had all conduced to the present degradation of Germany. Necessity now induced an alteration in the system of government and an appeal to the German people, whose voice had hitherto been vainly raised. The example set by Spain was to be followed. Stein, who was at that time at Vienna, kindled the glowing embers to a flame. The military reforms begun at an earlier period by the Archduke Charles were carried on on a wider basis. A completely new institution, that of the *Land-wehr* or armed citizens, in contradistinction with the mercenary soldiery, was set on foot. Enthusiasm and patriotism were not wanting. The circumstance of the pope's imprisonment in Rome by Napoleon sufficed to rouse the Catholics. Every thing was hoped for from a general rising throughout Germany against the French. Precipitation, however, ruined all. Prussia was still too much weakened, her fortresses were still in the hands of the French, and Austria inspired but little confidence, whilst the Rhenish confederation solely aimed at aggrandizing itself by fresh wars at the expense of that empire, and, notwithstanding the inclination to revolt evinced by

* Bignon's History of France.

the people in different parts of Germany, more particularly in Westphalia, the terror inspired by Napoleon kept them, as though spell-bound, beneath their galling yoke.

Whilst Napoleon was engaged in the Peninsula, Austria levied almost the whole of her able-bodied men and equipped an army, four hundred thousand strong, at the head of which no longer foreign generals, but the princes of the house of Habsburg, were placed. The Archduke Charles * set off, in 1809, for the Rhine, John for Italy, Ferdinand for Poland. The first proclamation, signed by Prince Rosenberg and addressed to the Bavarians, was as follows: "You are now beginning to perceive that we are Germans like yourselves, that the general interest of Germany touches you more nearly than that of a nation of robbers, and that the German nation can alone be restored to its former glory by acting in unison. Become once more what you once were, brave Germans! Or have you, Bavarian peasants and citizens, gained aught by your prince being made into a king? by the extension of his authority over a few additional square miles? Have your taxes been thereby decreased? Do you enjoy greater security in your persons and property?" The proclamation of the Archduke Charles "to the German nation," declared: "We have taken up arms to restore independence and national honour to Germany. Our cause is the cause of Germany. Show yourselves deserving of our esteem! The German, forgetful of what is due to himself and to his country, is our only foe." An anonymous but well-known proclamation also declared:

* He undertook the chief command with extreme unwillingness and had long advised against the war, the time not having yet arrived, Prussia being still adverse, Germany not as yet restored to her senses, and experience having already proved to him how little he could act as his judgment directed. How often had he not been made use of and then suddenly neglected, been restrained, in the midst of his operations, by secret orders, been permitted to conduct the first or only the second part of a campaign, been placed in a subaltern position when the chief command was rightfully his, or been forced to accept of it when all was irremediably lost. Even on this occasion the first measure advised by him, that of pushing rapidly through Bohemia and Franconia, met with opposition. On the Maine and on the Weser alone was there a hope of inspiring the people with enthusiasm, not in Bavaria, where the hatred of the Austrians was irradicably rooted. It, nevertheless, pleased the military advisers of the emperor at Vienna, to order the army to advance slowly through Bavaria.

"Austria beheld—a sight that drew tears of blood from the heart of every true-born German—you, O nations of Germany! so deeply debased as to be compelled to submit to the legislation of the foreigner and to allow your sons, the youth of Germany, to be led to war against their still unsubdued brethren. The shameful subjection of millions of once free-born Germans will ere long be completed. Austria exhorts you to raise your humbled necks, to burst your slavish chains!" And in another address was said: "How long shall Hermann mourn over his degenerate children? Was it for this that the Cherusci fought in the Teutoburger forest? Is every spark of German courage extinct? Does the sound of your clinking chains strike like music on your ears? Germans, awake! shake off your death-like slumber in the arms of infamy! Germans! shall your name become the derision of after ages?"

The Austrian army, instead of vigorously attacking and disarming Bavaria, but slowly advanced, and permitted the Bavarians to withdraw unharassed for the purpose of forming a junction with the other troops of the Rhenish confederation under Napoleon, who had hastened from Spain on the first news of the movements of Austria. The hopes of the German patriots could not have been more fearfully disappointed or the German name more deeply humiliated than by the scorn with which Napoleon, on this occasion, placed himself at the head of the nations of western Germany, by whose arms alone, for he had but a handful of French with him, he overcame their eastern brethren at a moment in which the German name and German honour were more loudly invoked. "I have not come among you," said Napoleon smilingly to the Bavarians, Würtembergers, etc., by whom he was surrounded, "I am not come among you as the emperor of France, but as the protector of your country and of the German confederation. No Frenchman is among you; *you alone* shall beat the Austrians."* The extent of the blind-

* "None of my soldiers accompany me. You will know how to value this mark of confidence."—*Napoleon's Address to the Bavarians. Böl-derndorf's Bavarian Campaigns.* "I am alone among you and have not a Frenchman around my person. This is an unparalleled honour paid by me to you."—*Napoleon's Address to the Würtemberg troops.* Arndt wrote at that time:

ness of the Rhenish confederation* is visible in their proclamations. The king of Saxony even called Heaven to his aid, and said to his soldiers, "Draw your swords against Austria with full trust in the aid of Divine providence!"†

In the April of 1809, Napoleon led the Rhenish confederated troops, among which the Bavarians under General Wrede chiefly distinguished themselves, against the Austrians, who had but slowly advanced, and defeated them in five battles, on five successive days, the most glorious triumph of his surpassing tactics, at Pfaffenhofen, Thann, Abensberg, Landshut, Eckmühl, and Ratisbon. The Archduke Charles retired into Bohemia in order to collect reinforcements, but General Hiller was, on account of the delay in repairing the

"By idle words and dastard wiles
Hath he the mastery gained;
He holds our sacred fatherland
In slavery enchained.
Fear hath rendered truth discreet,
And Honour croucheth at his feet.

Is this his work? ah no! 'tis *thine!*
This *thou* alone hast done.
For him thy banner waved, for him
Thy sword the battle won.

By thy disputes he gaineth strength,
By thy disgrace full honour,
And 'neath the German hero's arm
His weakness doth he cover:
Glittering erewhile in borrowed show,
The Gallic cock doth proudly crow."

* The states of Würtemberg imparted, among other things, the following piece of information to the house of Habsburg: "That the heads of a democratical government should spread principles destructive to order among its neighbours was easily explicable, but that Austria should take advantage of the war to derange the internal mechanism of neighbouring states was inexcusable."—*Allgemeine Zeitung, No.* 113. The Bavarian proclamation (*Allgemeine Zeitung, No.* 135) says, "Princes of the blood royal unblushingly subscribed to proclamations placing them on an equality with the men of the Revolution of 1793." The *Moniteur*, Napoleon's Parisian organ, said in August, 1809, after the conclusion of the war, "The mighty hand of Napoleon has snatched Germany from the revolutionary abyss about to engulf her."

† Posselt's Political Annals at that time contained an essay, in which the attempt made by the Austrian cabinet to call the Germans to arms was designated as a "crime" against the sovereigns "among whom Germany was at that period partitioned, and in whose hearing it was both foolish and dangerous to speak of Germany." Derision has seldom been carried to such a pitch.

fortifications of Linz, unable to maintain that place, the possession of which was important on account of its forming a connecting point between Bohemia and the Austrian Oberland. Hiller, however, at least saved his honour by pushing forward to the Traun, and, in a fearfully bloody encounter at Ebelsberg, capturing three French eagles, one of his colours alone falling into the enemy's hands. He was, nevertheless, compelled to retire before the superior forces of the French, and Napoleon entered Vienna unopposed. A few balls from the walls of the inner city were directed against the faubourg in his possession, but he no sooner began to bombard the palace than the inner city yielded. The Archduke Charles arrived, when too late, from Bohemia. Both armies, separated by the Danube, stood opposed to one another in the vicinity of the imperial city. Napoleon, in order to bring the enemy to a decisive engagement, crossed the river close to the great island of Lobau. He was received on the opposite bank near Aspern and Esslingen by the Archduke Charles, and, after a dreadful battle, that was carried on with unwearied animosity for two days, the 21st and 22nd of May, 1809, was for the first time completely beaten* and compelled to fly for refuge to the island of Lobau. The rising stream had, meanwhile, carried away the bridge, Napoleon's sole chance of escape to the opposite bank. For two days he remained on the island with his defeated troops, without provisions, and in hourly expectation of being cut to pieces; the Austrians, however, neglected to turn the opportunity to advantage and allowed the French leisure to rebuild the bridge, a work of extreme difficulty. During six weeks afterwards the two armies continued to occupy their former positions under the walls of Vienna on the right and left banks of the Danube, narrowly watching each other's movements and preparing for a final struggle.

* The finest feat of arms was that performed by the Austrian infantry, who repulsed twelve French regiments of cuirassiers. This picked body of cavalry was mounted on the best and strongest horses of Holstein and Mecklenburg, (for Napoleon overcame Germany principally by means of Germany,) and bore an extremely imposing appearance. The Austrian infantry coolly stood their charge and allowed them to come close upon them before firing a shot, when, taking deliberate aim at the horses, they and their riders were rolled in confused heaps on the ground. Three thousand cuirasses were picked up by the victors after the battle.

The Archduke John had successfully penetrated into Italy, where he had defeated the viceroy, Eugene, at Salice and Fontana fredda. Favoured by the simultaneous revolt of the Tyrolese, his success appeared certain, when the news of his brother's disaster compelled him to retreat. He withdrew into Hungary,* whither he was pursued by Eugene, by whom he was, on the 14th of June, defeated at Raab. The Archduke Ferdinand, who had advanced as far as Warsaw, had been driven back by the Poles under Poniatowski and by a Russian force sent by the emperor Alexander to their aid, which, on this success, invaded Galicia. Napoleon rewarded the Poles for their aid by allowing Russia to seize Wallachia and Moldavia.

The fate of Austria now depended on the issue of the struggle about to take place on the Danube. The archduke's troops were still elate with recent victory, but Napoleon had been strongly reinforced and again began the attack at Wagram, not far from the battle-ground of Aspern. The contest lasted two days, the 5th and 6th of July. The Austrians fought with great personal gallantry, lost one of their colours, but captured twelve golden eagles and standards of the enemy; but the reserve-body, intended to protect their left wing, failing to make its appearance on the field, they were outflanked by Napoleon and driven back upon Moravia. Every means of conveyance in Vienna was put into requisition for the transport of the forty-five thousand men, wounded on this occasion, to the hospitals, and this heart-rending scene indubitably contributed to strengthen the general desire for peace. An armistice was, on the 12th of July, concluded at Znaym, and, after long negotiation, followed, on the 10th of October, by the treaty of Vienna. Austria was compelled to cede Carniola, Trieste, Croatia, and Dalmatia to Napoleon, Salzburg, Berchtoldsgaden, the Innviertel, and the Hausruckviertel to Bavaria, a part of Galicia to Warsaw and another part to Russia. Count Stadion lost office and was succeeded by Clement, Count von Metternich.——Frederick Stabs, the son of a preacher of Naumburg on the Saal, formed a resolution to poniard Napoleon at Schönbrunn, the imperial palace in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Rapp's suspicions became roused,

* Napoleon proclaimed independence to the Hungarians, but was unable to gain a single adherent among them.

and the young man was arrested before his purpose could be effected. He candidly avowed his intention. "And if I grant you your life?" asked Napoleon. "I would merely make use of the gift to rob you, on the first opportunity, of yours," was the undaunted reply. Four and twenty hours afterwards the young man was shot.* The ancient German race of Gotscheer in Carniola and the people of Istria rose in open insurrection against the French and were only put down by force.

Although Prussia had left Austria unsuccoured during this war, many of her subjects were animated with a desire to aid their Austrian brethren. Schill, unable to restrain his impetuosity, quitted Berlin on the 28th of April, for that purpose, with his regiment of hussars. His conduct, although condemned by a sentence of the court-martial, was universally applauded. Dörnberg, an officer of Jerome's guard, revolted simultaneously in Hesse, but was betrayed by a false friend at the moment in which Jerome's person was to have been seized and was compelled to fly for his life. Schill merely advanced as far as Wittenberg and Halberstadt, was again driven northwards to Wismar, and finally to Stralsund, by the superior forces of Westphalia and Holland. In a bloody street-fight at Stralsund he split General Carteret's, the Dutch general's, head, and was himself killed by a cannon-ball. Thus fell this young hero, true to his motto, "Better a terrible end than endless terror." The Dutch cut off his head, preserved it in spirits of wine, and placed it publicly in the Leyden library, where it remained until 1837, when it was buried at Brunswick in the grave of his faithful followers. Five hundred of his men, under Lieutenant Brunow, escaped by forcing their way through the enemy. Of the prisoners taken on this occasion, eleven officers were, by Napoleon's command, shot at Wesel, fourteen subalterns and soldiers at Brunswick, the rest, about six hundred in number, were sent in chains to Toulon and condemned to the gal-

* Aretin about this time published a "Representation of the Patriots of Austria to Napoleon the Great," in which that great sovereign was entreated to bestow a new government upon Austria and to make that country, like the new kingdom of Westphalia, a member of his family of states. A fitting pendant to John Müller's state-speech, and so much the more uncalled for as it was exactly the Austrians who, during this disastrous period, had, less than any of the other races of Germany, lost their national pride.

leys.* Dörnberg fled to England. Katt, another patriot, assembled a number of veterans at Stendal and advanced as far as Magdeburg, but was compelled to flee to the Brunswickers in Bohemia. What might not have been the result had the plan of the Archduke Charles to march rapidly through Franconia been followed on the opening of the campaign?

William, duke of Brunswick, the son of the hapless duke Ferdinand, had quitted Oels, his sole possession, for Bohemia, where he had collected a force two thousand strong, known as the black Brunswickers on account of the colour of their uniform and the death's head on their helmets, with which he resolved to revenge his father's death. Victorious in petty engagements over the Saxons at Zittau and over the French under Junot at Berneck, he refused to recognise the armistice between Austria and France, and, fighting his way through the enemy, surprised Leipzig by night and there provided himself with ammunition and stores. He was awaited at Halberstadt by the Westphalians under Wellingerode, whom, notwithstanding their numerical superiority, he completely defeated during the night of the 30th of July. Two days later he was attacked in Brunswick, in his father's home, by an enemy three times his superior, by the Westphalians under Reubel, who advanced from Celle whilst the Saxons and Dutch pursued him from Erfurt. Aided by his brave citizens, many of whom followed his fortunes, he was again victorious and was enabled by a speedy retreat, in which he broke down all the bridges to his rear, to escape to Elsfleth, whence he sailed to England.

In August, an English army, forty thousand strong, landed on the island of Walcheren and attempted to create a diversion in Holland, but its ranks were speedily thinned by disease, it did not venture up the country and finally returned to England. The English, nevertheless, displayed henceforward immense activity in the Peninsula, where, aided by the brave and high-spirited population,† they did great detriment to the French. In the English army in the Peninsula were

* They were afterwards condemned to hard labour in the Hieres isles, nor was it until 1814 that the survivors, one hundred and twenty in number, were restored to their homes.—*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1814. *Appendix* 91.

† Vide Napier's Peninsular War for an account of the military achievements of the Spaniards.—TRANSLATOR.

several thousand Germans, principally Hanoverian refugees. There were also numerous deserters from the Rhenish confederated troops, sent by Napoleon into Spain.

During the war in June, the king of Würtemberg took possession of Mergentheim, the chief seat of the Teutonic order, which had, up to the present period, remained unsecularized. The surprised inhabitants received the new Protestant authorities with demonstrations of rage and revolted. They were the last and the only ones among all the secularized or mediatized Estates of the empire that boldly attempted opposition. They were naturally overpowered without much difficulty and were cruelly punished. About thirty of them were shot by the soldiery; six were executed; several wealthy burgesses and peasants were condemned as criminals to work in chains in the new royal gardens at Stuttgart. Thus miserably terminated the celebrated Teutonic order.

CCLVII. *Revolt of the Tyrolese.*

The Alps of the Tyrol had for centuries been the asylum of liberty. The ancient German communal system had there continued to exist even in feudal times. Exactly at the time when the house of Habsburg lost its most valuable possessions in Switzerland, at the time of the council of Constance, Duke Frederick, surnamed Friedel with the empty purse, was compelled by necessity and for the sake of retaining the affection of the Tyrolese, to confirm them by oath in the possession of great privileges, which his successors, owing to a wholesome dread of exciting the anger of the sturdy mountaineers, prudently refrained from violating. The Tyrol was externally independent and was governed by her own diet. No recruits were levied in that country by the emperor, excepting those for the rifle corps, which elected their own commanders and wore the Tyrolese garb. The imposts were few and trifling in amount, the administration was simple. The free-born peasant enjoyed his rights in common with the patriarchal nobility and clergy, who dwelt in harmony with the people; in several of the valleys the public affairs were administered by simple peasants; each commune had its peculiar laws and customs.

The first invasion of the Tyrol, in 1703, by the Bavarians, was successfully resisted. The Bavarians were driven, with great loss on their side, out of the country. A somewhat similar spirit animated the Tyrolese in 1805, and their anger was solely appeased by the express remonstrances of the Archduke John, whom the inhabitants of the Austrian Tyrol treated with the veneration due to a father. They now fell under the dominion of Bavaria, whose benevolent sovereign, Maximilian Joseph, promised, under the act dated the 14th of January, 1806, "not only strongly to uphold the constitution of the country and the well-earned rights and privileges of the people, but also to promote their welfare:" but, led astray by his, certainly noble, enthusiasm for the rescue of his Bavarian subjects from Jesuit obscurantism, he imagined that similar measures might also be advantageously taken in the Tyrol, where the mountaineers, true to their ancient simplicity, were revolted by the severity of the cure, attempted too by a physician of whose intentions they were mistrustful. Bavaria was overrun with rich monasteries; the Tyrol, less fertile, possessed merely a patriarchal clergy, less numerous, more moral and active. There was no motive for interference. The conscription that, by converting the idle youth of Bavaria into disciplined soldiery, was a blessing to the martial-spirited and improvident population, was impracticable amid the well-trained Tyrolese, and, although the control exercised by a well-regulated bureaucracy might be beneficial when viewed in contradistinction with the ancient complicated system of government and administration of justice during the existence of the division into petty states and the manifold contradictory privileges, it was utterly uncalled for in the simple administration of the Tyrol. For what purpose were mere presumptive ameliorations to be imposed upon a people thoroughly contented with the laws and customs bequeathed by their ancestors? The attempt was nevertheless made, and ancient Bavarian official insolence leagued with French frivolity of the school of Montgelas to vex the Tyrolese and to violate their most sacred privileges. The numerous chapels erected for devotional purposes were thrown down amid marks of ridicule and scorn; the ignorance and superstition of the old church was at one blow to yield

to modern enlightenment.* The people shudderingly beheld the crucifixes and images of saints, so long the objects of their deepest veneration, sold to Jews. Notwithstanding the late assurances of the Bavarian king, the Tyrolean diet was, moreover, not only dissolved, but the country was deprived of its ancient name and designated "Southern Bavaria," and the castle of the Tyrol that had defied the storms of ages, and whose possessor, according to a sacred popular legend, had alone a right to claim the homage of the country, was sold by auction. The national pride of the Tyrolese was deeply and bitterly wounded, their ancient rights and customs were arbitrarily infringed, and, instead of the great benefits so recently promised, eight new taxes were levied, and the tax-gatherers not unfrequently rendered themselves still more obnoxious by their brutality. Colonel Dittfurt, who, during the winter of 1809, acted with extreme inhumanity in the Fleimser-Thal, where the conscription had excited great opposition, and who publicly boasted that with his regiment alone he would keep the whole of the beggarly mountaineers in subjection, drew upon himself the greatest share of the popular animosity.

Austria, when preparing for war in 1809, could therefore confidently reckon upon a general rising in the Tyrol. Andrew Hofer, the host of the Sand at Passeyr, (the Sandwirth,) went to Vienna, where the revolt was concerted.† A con-

* Without any attempt being made on the part of the government to prepare the minds of the people by proper instruction, the children were taken away by force in order to be inoculated for the small-pox. The mothers, under an idea that their infants were being bewitched or poisoned, trembled with rage and fear, while the Bavarian authorities and their servants mocked their dismay.

† Hofer was, in 1790, as the deputy of the Passeyrthal, a member of the diet at Innsbruck which so zealously opposed the reforms attempted by Joseph II.; he had fought, as captain of a rifle corps, against the French in 1796, and, in 1805, when bidding farewell to the Archduke John on the enforced cession of the Tyrol by Austria to Bavaria, had received a significant shake of the hand with an expressed hope of seeing him again in better times. Hofer traded in wine, corn, and horses, was well known and highly esteemed as far as the Italian frontier. He had a Herculean form and was remarkably good-looking. He wore a low-crowned, broad-brimmed black Tyrolean hat, ornamented with green ribbons and the feathers of the capercalzie. His broad chest was covered with a red waistcoat, across which green braces, a hand in breadth, were fastened to black chamois-leather knee-breeches. His knees were bare, but his well-developed calves were covered with red

spiracy was entered into by the whole of the Tyrolese peasantry. Sixty thousand men, on a moderate calculation, were intrusted with the secret, which was sacredly kept, not a single townsman being allowed to participate in it. Kinkel, the Bavarian general, who was stationed at Innsbruck and narrowly watched the Tyrol, remained perfectly unconscious of the mine beneath his feet. Colonel Wrede, his inferior in command, had been directed to blow up the important bridges in the Pusterthal at St. Lorenzo, in order to check the advance of the Austrians, in case of an invasion. Several thousand French were expected to pass through the Tyrol on their route from Italy to join the army under Napoleon. No suspicion of the approach of a popular outbreak existed. On the 9th of April, the signal was suddenly given; planks bearing little red flags floated down the Inn; on the 10th, the storm burst. Several of the Bavarian sappers sent at day-break to blow up the bridges of St. Lorenzo being killed by the bullets of an invisible foe, the rest took to flight. Wrede, enraged at the incident, hastened to the spot at the head of two battalions, supported by a body of cavalry and some field-pieces. The whole of the Pusterthal had however already risen at the summons of Peter Kemnater, the host of Schabs,* in defence of the bridges. Wrede's artillery was captured by the enraged peasantry and cast, together with the artillery-men, into the river. Wrede, after suffering a terrible loss, owing to the skill of the Tyrolean riflemen, who never missed their aim; was completely put to rout, and, although he fell in with a body of three thousand French under Brisson on their route from Italy, resolved, instead of returning to the Pusterthal, to withdraw with the French to Innsbruck. The passage through the valley of the Eisack had, however, been already closed against them by the host of Lechner, and the fine old Roman bridge at Laditsch been blown up. In the pass of the Brixen, where the valley closes,

stockings. A broad black leathern girdle clasped his muscular form. Over all was thrown a short green coat without buttons. His long dark-brown beard, that fell in rich curls upon his chest, added dignity to his appearance. His full, broad countenance was expressive of good humour and honesty. His small, penetrating eyes sparkled with vivacity.

* A youth of two and twenty, slight in person and extremely handsome, at that time a bridegroom, and inspired by the deepest hatred of the Bavarians, by whose officers he had been personally insulted.

the French and Bavarians suffered immense loss; rocks and trees were rolled on the heads of the appalled soldiery, numbers of whom were also picked off by the unerring rifles of the unseen peasantry. Favoured by the open ground at the bridge of Laditsch, they constructed a temporary bridge, across which they succeeded in forcing their way on the 11th of April. Hofer had, meanwhile, placed himself, early on the 10th, at the head of the brave peasantry of Passeyr, Algund, and Meran, and had thrown himself on the same road, somewhat to the north, near Sterzing, where a Bavarian battalion was stationed under the command of Colonel Bärnklau, who, on being attacked by him, on the 11th, retreated to the Sterzinger Moos, a piece of table-land, where, drawn up in square, he successfully repulsed every attempt made to dislodge him until Hofer ordered a waggon, loaded with hay and guided by a girl,* to be pushed forward as a screen, behind which the Tyrolese advancing, the square was speedily broken and the whole of Bärnklau's troop was either killed or taken prisoner.

The whole of the lower valley of the Inn had, on the selfsame day, been raised by Joseph Speckbacher, a wealthy peasant of Rinn, the greatest hero called into existence by this fearful peasant war. The alarm-bell pealed from every church tower throughout the country. A Bavarian troop, at that time engaged in levying contributions at Axoms as a punishment for disobedience, hastily fled. The city of Hall was, on the ensuing night, taken by Speckbacher, who, after lighting about a hundred watch-fires in a certain quarter, as if about to make an attack on that side, crept, under cover of the darkness, to the gate on the opposite side, where, as a common passenger, he demanded permission to enter, took possession of the opened gate, and seized the four hundred Bavarians stationed in the city. On the 12th, he appeared before Innsbruck. Kinkel was astounded at the audacity of the peasants, whom Dittfurt glowed with impatience to punish. But the people, shouting "Vivat Franzl! Down with the Bavarians!" again rushed upon the guns and turned them upon the Bavarians, who were, moreover, exposed to a murderous fire poured upon them from the windows and towers by the citizens, who

* The daughter of a tailor, named Camper. As the balls flew around her, she shouted, "On with ye! who cares for Bavarian dumplings!"

had risen in favour of the peasantry. The people of the upper valley of the Inn, headed by Major Teimer, also poured to the scene of carnage. Dittfurt performed prodigies of valour, but every effort was vain. Scornfully refusing to yield to the *canaille*, he continued, although struck by two bullets, to fight with undaunted courage, when a third stretched him on the ground; again he started up and furiously defended himself until a fourth struck him in the head. He died four days afterwards in a state of wild delirium, cursing and swearing. Kinkel and the whole of the Bavarian infantry yielded themselves prisoners. The cavalry attempted to escape, but were dismounted with pitch-forks by the peasantry, and the remainder were taken prisoners before Hall.

Wrede and Brisson, meanwhile, crossed the Brenner. At Sterzing, every trace of the recent conflict had been carefully obliterated, and Wrede vainly inquired the fate of Bärnklau. He entered the narrow pass, and Hofer's riflemen spread death and confusion among his ranks. The strength of the allied column, nevertheless, enabled it to force its way through, and it reached Innsbruck, where, completely surrounded by the Tyrolese, it, in a few minutes, lost several hundred men, and, in order to escape utter destruction, laid down its arms. The Tyrolese entered Innsbruck in triumph, preceded by the military band belonging to the enemy, which was compelled to play, followed by Teimer and Brisson, in an open carriage, and with the rest of their prisoners guarded between their ranks. Their captives consisted of two generals, ten staff-officers, above a hundred other officers, eight thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry. Throughout the Tyrol, the arms of Bavaria were cast to the ground and all the Bavarian authorities were removed from office. The prisoners were, nevertheless, treated with the greatest humanity, the only instance to the contrary being that of a tax-gatherer, who, having once boasted that he would grind the Tyrolese down until they gladly ate hay, was, in revenge, compelled to swallow a bushel of hay for his dinner.

It was not until after these brilliant achievements on the part of the Tyrolese that Lieutenant Field-Marshal von Chasteler, a Dutchman, and the Baron von Hormayr, the imperial civil intendant, entered Innsbruck with several thousand Austrians, and that Hormayr assumed the reins of govern-

ment. Two thousand French, under General Lemoine, attempted to make an inroad from Trient, but were repulsed by Hofer and his ally, Colonel Count Leiningen, who had been sent to his aid by Chasteler. The advance of a still stronger force of the enemy under Baraguay d' Hilliers a second time against Botzen called Chasteler in person into the field, and the French, after a smart engagement near Volano, where the Herculean Passeyrers carried the artillery on their shoulders, were forced to retreat. It was on this occasion that Leiningen, who had hastily pushed too far forwards, was rescued from captivity by Hofer.* The Vorarlberg had, meanwhile, also been raised by Teimer. A Dr. Schneider placed himself at the head of the insurgents, whose forces already extended in this direction as far as Lindau, Kempten, and Memmingen.

Napoleon's success, at this conjuncture, at Ratisbon, enabled him to despatch a division of his army into the Tyrol to quell the insurrection that had broken out to his rear. Wrede, who had been quickly exchanged and set at liberty, speedily found himself at the head of a small Bavarian force, and succeeded in driving the Austrians under Jellachich, after an obstinate and bloody resistance, out of Salzburg, on the 29th of April. Jellachich withdrew to the pass of Lueg for the purpose of placing himself in communication with the Archduke John, who was on his way from Italy. An attack made upon this position by the Bavarians being repulsed, Napoleon despatched Marshal Lefebvre, duke of Dantzig, from Salzburg with a considerable force to their assistance. Lefebvre spoke German, was a rough soldier, treated the peasants as robbers instead of legitimate foes, shot every leader who fell into his hands, and gave his soldiery licence to commit every description of outrage on the villagers. The greater part of the Tyrolese occupying the pass of Strub having quitted their post on Ascension day in order to attend divine service, the rest were, after a gallant resistance, overpowered and mercilessly butchered. Chasteler, anxious to repair his late negligence, advanced against the Bavarians in the open valley of the Inn and was overwhelmed by superior numbers at Wörgl.

* The Austrian general, Marschall, who had been sent to guard the Southern Tyrol, was removed for declaring that he deemed it an insult for the military to make common cause with peasants and for complaining of his being compelled to sit down to table with Hofer.

Speckbacher, followed by his peasantry, again made head against the enemy, whom, notwithstanding the destruction caused in his ranks by their rapid and well-directed fire, he twice drove out of Schwatz. The Bavarians, nevertheless, succeeded in forcing an entrance into the town, which they set on fire after butchering all the inhabitants, hundreds of whom were hanged to the trees or had their hands nailed to their heads. These cruelties were not, even in a single instance, imitated by the Tyrolese. The proposal to send their numerous Bavarian prisoners home maimed of one ear, as a mode of recognition in case they should again serve against the Tyrol, was rejected by Hofer. The unrelenting rage of the Bavarians was solely roused by the unsparing ridicule of the Tyrolese, by whom they were nicknamed, on account of the general burlyness of their figures and their fondness for beer, Bavarian hogs, and who, the moment they came within hearing, would call out to them, as to a herd of pigs, "Tschu, Tschu, Tschu—Natsch, Natsch." The Bavarians, intoxicated with success, advanced farther up the country, surrounded the village of Vomp, set it on fire amid the sound of kettle-drums and hautboys, and shot the inhabitants as they attempted to escape from the burning houses. Chasteler and Hormayr were, during this robber-campaign, as it was termed by the French, proscribed as *chefs de brigands* by Napoleon. Count Tannenberg, the descendant of the oldest of the baronial families in the Tyrol, a blind and venerable man, who was also taken prisoner *en route*, replied with dignity to the censure heaped upon him by Wrede, and, at Munich, defended his country's cause before the king.* The officers, whom he had treated with extreme politeness, rose from his hospitable board to set fire to his castle over his head. The Scharnitz was yielded, and the Bavarians under Arco penetrated also on that side into the country.——Jellachich, upon this, retired upon Carinthia, and was followed through the Pusterthal by Chasteler, who dreaded being cut off. The peasants, incredulous of their abandonment by Austria, implored, entreated him to remain, to which, for the sake of freeing himself from

* Proclamation of the emperor Francis to the Tyrolese: "Willingly do I anticipate your wish to be regarded as the most faithful subjects of the Austrian empire. Never again shall the sad fate of being torn from my heart befall you."

their importunities, he at length consented, but they had no sooner dispersed in order to summon the people again to the conflict than he retired. Hofer, on returning to the spot, merely finding a small body of troops under the command of General Buol, who had received orders to bring up the rear, threw himself in despair on a bed. Eisenstecken, his companion and adjutant, however, instantly declared that the departure of the soldiers must, at all hazards, be prevented. The officers signed a paper by which they bound themselves, even though contrary to the express orders of the general, to remain. Buol, upon this, yielded and remained, but, during the fearful battle that ensued, remained in the post-house on the Brenner, inactively watching the conflict, which terminated in the triumph of the peasantry. Hormayr completely absconded and attempted to escape into Switzerland.

Innsbruck was surrendered by Teimer to the French, on the 19th of May. Napoleon's defeat, about this time, at Aspern having however compelled Lefebvre to return hastily to the Danube, leaving merely a part of the Bavarians with General Deroy in Innsbruck, the Tyrolese instantly seized the opportunity, and Hofer, Eisenstecken, and the gallant Speckbacher boldly assembled the whole of the peasantry on the mountain of Isel. Peter Thalguter led the brave and gigantic men of Algund. Haspinger, the Capuchin, nicknamed Redbeard, appeared on this occasion for the first time in the guise of a commander and displayed considerable military talent. An incessant struggle was carried on from the 25th to the 29th of May.* Deroy, repulsed from the mountain of Isel with a loss of almost three thousand men, simulated an intention to capitulate, and withdrew unheard during the night by muffling the horses' hoofs and the wheels of the artillery carriages and enjoining silence under pain of death. Speckbacher attempted to impede his retreat at Hall, but arrived too late.† Teimer was accused of having been remiss in his duty through jealousy of the common peasant leaders.

* The Count von Stachelburg from Meran, who fought as a volunteer among the peasantry, fell at that time. He was the last of his race.

† He was joined here by his son Anderl, a child ten years of age, who collected the enemy's balls in his hat, and so obstinately refused to quit the field of battle that his father was compelled to have him carried by force to a distant Alp.

Arco escaped by an artifice similar to that of Deroy and abandoned the Scharnitz. The Vorarlbergers again spread as far as Kempten. Hormayr also returned, retook the reins of government, imposed taxes, flooded the country with useless law-scribbling, and, at the same time, refused to grant the popular demand for the convocation of the Tyrolean diet. After the victory of Aspern, the emperor declared, "My faithful county of Tyrol shall henceforward ever remain incorporated with the Austrian empire, and I will agree to no treaty of peace save one indissolubly uniting the Tyrol with my monarchy." During this happy interval, Speckbacher besieged the fortress of Cuffstein, where he performed many signal acts of valour.*

The disaster of Wagram followed, and, in the ensuing armistice, the Emperor Francis was compelled to agree to the withdrawal of the whole of his troops from the Tyrol. The Archduke John is said to have given a hint to General Buol to remain in the Tyrol as if retained there by force by the peasantry, instead of which both Buol and Hormayr hurried their retreat, after issuing a miserable proclamation, in which they "recommended the Tyrolese to the care of the duke of Dantzig." Lefebvre actually again advanced at the head of thirty to forty thousand French, Bavarians, and Saxons. The courage of the unfortunate peasantry naturally sank. Hofer alone remained unshaken, and said, on bidding Hormayr farewell, "Well then, I will undertake the government, and, as long as God wills, name myself Andrew Hofer, host of the Sand at Passeyr, Count of the Tyrol." Hormayr laughed.——A general dispersion took place. Hofer alone remained. When, resolute in his determination not to abandon his native soil, he was on his way back to his dwelling,

* He paid a visit, in disguise, to the commandant within the fortress, extinguished a grenade with his hat, crept undiscovered into the fortress and spoilt the fire engines, cut loose the ships moored beneath the walls, etc. Joseph Speckbacher of the Innthal was an open-hearted, fine-spirited fellow, endowed with a giant's strength, and the best marksman in the country. His clear bright eye could, at the distance of half a mile, distinguish the bells on the necks of the cattle. In his youth, he was addicted to poaching, and being, on one occasion, when in the act of roasting a chamois, surprised by four Bavarian Jäger, he unhesitatingly dashed the melted fat of the animal into their faces, and, quick as lightning, dealt each of them a death-blow with the butt-end of his rifle.

he encountered Speckbacher hurrying away in a carriage in the company of some Austrian officers. "Wilt thou also desert thy country?" was Hofer's sad demand. Buol, in order to cover his retreat, sent back eleven guns and nine hundred Bavarian prisoners to General Rusca, who continued to threaten the Pusterthal.

In the mountains all was tranquil, and the advance of the French columns was totally unopposed. Hofer, concealed in a cavern amid the steep rocks overhanging his native vale, besought Heaven for aid, and, by his enthusiastic entreaties, succeeded in persuading the brave Capuchin, Joachim Haspinger, once more to quit the monastery of Seeben, whither he had retired. A conference was held at Brixen between Haspinger, Martin Schenk, the host of the *Krug*, a jovial man of powerful frame, Kemnater, and a third person of similar calling, Peter Mayer, host of the Mare, who bound themselves again to take up arms in Eastern Tyrol, whilst Hofer, in person, raised the Western Tyrol. Speckbacher, to the delight of the three confederates, unexpectedly made his appearance at this conjuncture. Deeply wounded by the reproach contained in the few words addressed to him by Hofer, he had, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of his companions, quitted them on arriving at the nearest station and hastened to retake his post in defence of his country.

Lefebvre had already entered Innsbruck, and, according to his brutal custom, had plundered the villages and reduced them to ashes; he had also published a proscription-list* in-

* He cited the following names immortal in the Tyrol, A. Hofer, Straub of Hall, Reider of Botzen, Bombardi, postmaster of Salurn, Morandel of Kaltern, Resz of Fleims, Tschöll of Meran, Frischmann of Schlanders, Senn, sheriff of Nauders, Fischer, actuary of Landek, Strehle, burgomaster of Imbst, Plawen, governor of Reutti, Major Dietrich of Lermos, Aschenbacher, governor of the Achenthal, Sieberer of Cufstein, Wintersteller of Kisbüchl, Kolb of Lienz, Count Sarntheim, Peer, counsellor to the court of appeal. Count Sarntheim was taken prisoner and carried into Bavaria, together with the heroic Baroness of Sternbach, who, mounted on horseback and armed with pistols, accompanied the patriot force and aided in the command. She was seized in her castle of Mühlan, imprisoned in a house of correction at Munich, and afterwards carried to Strassburg, was deprived of the whole of her property, ignominiously treated, and threatened with death, but never lost courage. —*Beda, Weber's Tyrol.* Wintersteller was a descendant of the brave host of the same name who, in 1703, adorned his house, which was afterwards occupied by Wintersteller, with the trophies won from the Bavarians.

stead of the amnesty. A desperate resistance now commenced. The whole of the Tyrol again flew to arms; the young men placed in their green hats the bunch of rosemary gathered by the girl of their heart, the more aged a peacock's plume, the symbol of the house of Habsburg, all carried the rifle, so murderous in their hands: they made cannons of larch-wood, bound with iron rings, which did good service; they raised abattis, blew up rocks, piled immense masses of stone on the extreme edges of the precipitous rocks commanding the narrow vales, in order to hurl them upon the advancing foe, and directed the timber-slides in the forest-grown mountains, or those formed of logs by means of which the timber for building was usually run into the valleys, in such a manner upon the most important passes and bridges, as to enable them to shoot enormous trees down upon them with tremendous velocity.

Lefebvre resolved to advance with the main body of his forces across the Brenner to Botzen, whither another corps under Burscheidt also directed its way through the upper valley of the Inn, the Finstermünz, and Meran, whilst a third under Rusca came from Carinthia through the Pusterthal, and a fourth under Peyry was on the march from Verona through the vale of the Adige. These various *corps d'armée*, by which the Tyrol was thus attacked simultaneously on every point, were to concentrate in the heart of the country. Lefebvre found the Brenner open. The Tyrolese, headed by Haspinger, had burnt the bridges on the Oberau and awaited the approach of the enemy on the heights commanding the narrow valley of Eisach. The Saxons under Rouyer were sent in advance by Lefebvre to shed their blood for a foreign despot. Rocks and trees hurled by the Tyrolese into the valley crushed numbers of them to death. Rouyer, after being slightly hurt by a rolling mass of rock, retreated after leaving orders to the Saxon regiment, composed of contingents from Weimar, Gotha, Coburg, Hildburghausen, Altenburg, and Meiningen, commanded by Colonel Egloffstein, to retain its position in the Oberau. This action took place on the 4th of August. The Saxons, worn out by the fatigue and danger to which they were exposed, were compelled, on the ensuing day, to make head in the narrow vale against overwhelming numbers of the Tyrolese, whose incessant attacks rendered a moment's repose impossible. Although faint with hunger

and with the intensity of the heat, a part of the troops under Colonel Egloffstein succeeded in forcing their way through, though at an immense sacrifice of life,* and fell back upon Rouyer, who had taken up a position at Sterzing without fighting a stroke in their aid, and who expressed his astonishment at their escape. The rest of the Saxon troops were taken prisoners, after a desperate resistance, in the dwelling-houses of Oberau.† They had lost nearly a thousand men. The other *corps d'armée* met with no better fate. Burscheidt merely advanced up the valley of the Inn as far as the bridges of Pruz, whence, being repulsed by the Tyrolese and dreading destruction, he retreated during the dark night of the 8th of August. His infantry crept, silent and unheard, across the bridge of Pontlaz, of such fatal celebrity in 1703, which was strictly watched by the Tyrolese. The cavalry cautiously followed, but were betrayed by the sound of one of the horse's feet. Rocks and trees were in an instant hurled upon the bridge, crushing men and horses and blocking up the way. The darkness that veiled the scene, but added to its horrors. The whole of the troops shut up beyond the bridge were either killed or taken prisoner. Burscheidt reached Innsbruck with merely a handful of men, completely worn out by the incessant pursuit. Rusca was also repulsed, between the 6th and the 11th of August, (particularly at the bridge of Lienz,) in the Pusterthal by brave Antony Steger. Rusca had set two hundred farms on fire. Twelve hundred of his men were killed, and his retreat was accelerated by Steger's threat to roast him, in case he fell into his hands, like a scorpion,

* When incessantly pursued and ready to drop with fatigue, they found a cask of wine, and a drummer, knocking off its head, stooped down to drink, when he was pierced with a bullet, and his blood mingled with the liquor, which was, nevertheless, greedily swallowed by the famishing soldiery.—*Jacob's Campaign of the Gotha-Altenburgers.*

† The Tyrolese aimed at the windows and shot every one who looked out. As soon as the houses were, by this means, filled with the dead and wounded, they stormed them and took the survivors prisoner. Two hundred and thirty men of Weimar and Coburg, commanded by Major Germar, defended themselves to the last; the house in which they were being at length completely surrounded and set on fire by the Tyrolese, they surrendered. This spot was afterwards known as the "*Sachsenklemme.*" Seven hundred Saxon prisoners escaped from their guards and took refuge on the *Krimmer Tauern*, where they were recaptured by the armed women and girls.

within a fiery circle. Peyry did not venture into the country.

Lefebvre, who had followed to the rear of the Saxon troops from Innsbruck, bitterly reproached them for their defeat, but, although he placed himself in advance, did not succeed in penetrating as far as they had up the country. At Mauls, his cavalry were torn from their saddles and killed with clubs, and he escaped, with great difficulty, after losing his cocked hat. His corps, notwithstanding its numerical strength, was unable to advance a step farther. The Capuchin harassed his advanced guard from Mauls and was seconded by Speckbacher from Stilfs, whilst Count Arco was attacked to his rear at Schönberg by multitudes of Tyrolese. The contest was carried on without intermission from the 5th to the 10th of August. Lefebvre was finally compelled to retreat with his thinned and weary troops.* On the 11th, Deroy posted himself with the rear-guard on the mountain of Isel. The Capuchin, after reading mass under the open sky to his followers, again attacked him on the 13th. A horrible slaughter ensued. Four hundred Bavarians, who had fallen beneath the clubs of their infuriated antagonists, lay in a confused heap. The enemy evacuated Innsbruck and the whole of the Tyrol.† Count Arco was one of the last victims of this bloody campaign.

The *Sandwirth* placed himself at the head of the government at Innsbruck. Although a simple peasant and ever faithful to the habits of his station,‡ he laid down some ad-

* Bartholdy relates that Lefebvre, disguised as a common soldier, mingled with the cavalry in order to escape the balls of the Tyrolese sharpshooters. A man of Passeyr is said to have captured a three-pounder and to have carried it on his shoulders across the mountain. The Tyrolese would even carry their wounded enemies carefully on their shoulders to their villages. A Count Mohr greatly distinguished himself among the people of Vintschgau. The spirit shown by an old man above eighty years of age, who, after shooting a number of the enemy from a rock on which he had posted himself, threw himself, exclaiming "Juhhe! in God's name!" down the precipice, with a Saxon soldier, by whom he had been seized, is worthy of record.

† Von Seebach, in his History of the Ducal Saxon Regiment, graphically describes the flight. During the night-time, all the mountains around the beautiful valley of Innsbruck were lit up with watch-fires. Lefebvre ordered his to be kept brightly burning whilst his troops silently withdrew.

‡ He did not set himself above his equals and followed his former

mirable rules, convoked a national assembly, and raised the confidence of the people of Carinthia, to whom he addressed a proclamation, remarkable for dignity. He hoped, at that time, by summoning the whole of the mountain tribes to arms and leading them to Vienna, to compel the enemy to accede to more favourable terms of peace. Speckbacher penetrated into the district of Salzburg, defeated the Bavarians at Lofers and Unken, took one thousand seven hundred prisoners, and advanced as far as Reichenhall and Melek. The Capuchin proposed, in his zeal, to storm Salzburg and invade Carinthia, but was withheld by Speckbacher, who saw the hazard attached to the project, as well as the peril that would attend the departure of the Tyrolese from their country. His plan merely consisted in covering the eastern frontier. His son, Anderle, who had escaped from his secluded Alp, unexpectedly joined him and fought at his side. Speckbacher was stationed at Melek, where he drove Major Rümmele with his Bavarian battalion into the Salzach, but was shortly afterwards surprised by treachery. He had already been deprived of his arms, thrown to the ground, and seriously injured with blows dealt with a club, when, furiously springing to his feet, he struck his opponents to the earth and escaped with a hundred of his men across a wall of rock unscaleable save by the foot of the expert and hardy mountaineer. His young son was torn from his side and taken captive. The king, Maxi-

simple mode of life. The emperor of Austria sent him a golden chain and three thousand ducats, the first money received by the Tyrol from Austria; but Hofer's pride was not raised by this mark of favour, and the naïveté of his reply on this occasion has often been a subject of ridicule: "Sirs, I thank you. I have no news for you to-day. I have, it is true, three couriers on the road, the Watscher-Hiesele, the Sixten-Seppele, and the Memmele-Franz, and the Schwanz ought long to have been here, I expect the rascal every hour." The honest fellow permitted no pillage, no disorderly conduct; he even guarded the public morals with such strictness as to publish the following orders against the half-naked mode, imported by the French, at that time followed by the women: "Many of my good fellow-soldiers and defenders of their country have complained that the women of all ranks cover their bosoms and arms too little, or with transparent dresses, and by these means raise sinful desires highly displeasing to God and to all piously-disposed persons. It is hoped that they will, by better behaviour, preserve themselves from the punishment of God, and, in case of the contrary, must solely blame themselves should they find themselves disagreeably covered with ———. Andre Hofer, chief in command in the Tyrol."

milian Joseph, touched by his courage and beauty, sent for him and had him well educated.——The Capuchin, who had reached Muhrau in Styria, was also compelled to retire.

The peace of Vienna, in which the Tyrolese were not even mentioned, was meanwhile concluded. The restoration of the Tyrol to Bavaria was tacitly understood, and, in order to reduce the country to obedience, three fresh armies again approached the frontiers, the Italian, Peyry, from the south through the valley of the Adige, and Baraguay d' Hilliers from the west through the Pusterthal; the former suffered a disastrous defeat above Trient, but was rescued from utter destruction by General Vial, who had followed to his rear, and who, as well as Baraguay, advanced as far as Brixen.* Drouet d' Erlon, with the main body of the Bavarians, came from the north across the Strub and the Loferpass, and gained forcible possession of the Engpass. Hofer had been persuaded by the priest, Donay, to relinquish the anterior passes into the country and Innsbruck, and to take up a strong position on the fortified mountain of Isel. Speckbacher arrived too late to defend Innsbruck, and, enraged at the ill-laid plan of defence, threw a body of his men into the Zillerthal in order to prevent the Bavarians from falling upon Hofer's rear. He was again twice wounded at the storming of the Kemmberg, which had already been fortified by the Bavarians. On the 25th of October, the Bavarians entered Innsbruck and summoned Hofer to capitulate. During the night of the 30th, Baron Lichtenthurm appeared in the Tyrolese camp, announced the conclusion of peace, and delivered a letter from the Archduke John, in which the Tyrolese were commanded peaceably to disperse and no longer to offer their lives a useless sacrifice. There was no warrant for the future, not a memory of an earlier pledge. The commands of their beloved master were obeyed by the Tyrolese with feelings of bitter regret, and a complete dispersion took place. Speckbacher alone maintained his ground, and repulsed the enemy on the 2nd and 3rd of November, but, being told, in a letter, by Hofer, "I announce to you, that Austria has made peace with France and has forgotten the Tyrol," he gave up all further

* During the pillage of the monastery of Seeben by the French, a nun, in order to escape from their hands, cast herself from the summit of the rock into the valley.

opposition, and Mayer and Kemnater, who had gallantly made head against General Rusca at the Mühlbacher Klause, followed his example.

The tragedy drew to a close. Hofer returned to his native vale, where the people of Passeyr and Algund, resolved at all hazards not to submit to the depredations of the Italian brigands under Rusca, flocked around him and compelled him to place himself at their head for a last and desperate struggle. Above Meran, the French were thrown in such numbers from the *Franzosenbuhl*, which still retains its name, that "they fell like a shower of autumnal leaves into the city. The horses belonging to a division of cavalry intended to surround the insurgent peasantry were all that returned; their riders had been shot to a man. Rusca lost five hundred dead and one thousand seven hundred prisoners. The Capuchin was also present, and generously saved the captive Major Doreille, whose men had formerly set fire to a village, from the hands of the infuriated peasantry. But a traitor guided the enemy to the rear of the brave band of patriots; Peter Thalguter fell, and Hofer took refuge amid the highest Alps.———Kolb, who was by some supposed to be an English agent, but who was simply an enthusiast, again summoned the peasantry around Brixen to arms. The peasantry still retained such a degree of courage, as to set up an enormous barn-door as a target for the French artillery, and at every shot up jumped a ludicrous figure. Resistance had, however, ceased to be general; the French pressed in ever increasing numbers through the valleys, disarmed the people, the majority of whom, obedient to Hofer's first mandate, no longer attempted opposition, and took their leaders captive. Peter Mayer was shot at Botzen. His life was offered to him on condition of his denying all participation in the patriotic struggles of his countrymen, but he disdained a lie and boldly faced death. Those among the peasantry most distinguished for gallantry were either shot or hanged. Baur, a Bavarian author, who had fought against the Tyrolese and is consequently a trusty witness, remarks, that all the Tyrolese patriots, without exception, evinced the greatest contempt of death. The struggle recommenced in the winter, but was merely confined to the Pusterthal. A French division under Broussier was

cut off on the snowed-up roads and shot to a man by the peasantry.

Hofer at first took refuge with his wife and child in a narrow rocky hollow in the Kellerlager, afterwards in the highest Alpine hut, near the Oetzthaler Firner in the wintry desert. Vainly was he implored to quit the country; his resolution to live or to die on his native soil was unchangeable. A peasant, named Raffel, unfortunately descrying the smoke from the distant hut, discovered his place of concealment, and boasted in different places of his possession of the secret of his hiding-place. This came to the ears of Father Donay, a traitor in the pay of France;* Raffel was arrested, and, in the night of the 27th of January, 1810, guided one thousand six hundred French and Italian troops to the mountain, whilst two thousand French were quartered in the circumjacent country. Hofer yielded himself prisoner with calm dignity. The Italians abused him personally, tore out his beard, and dragged him pinioned, half naked and barefoot, in his night-dress, over ice and snow to the valley. He was then put into a carriage and carried into Italy to the fortress of Mantua. No one interceded in his behalf. Napoleon sent orders by the Paris telegraph to shoot him within four and twenty hours. He prepared cheerfully for death.† On being led past the other Tyrolese prisoners, they embraced his knees, weeping. He gave them his blessing. His executioners halted not far from the Porta Chiesa, where, placing himself opposite the twelve riflemen, selected for the dreadful office, he refused

* Donay had devoted himself to the service of the church, but having committed a theft, had been refused ordination. Napoleon rewarded him for his treachery with—ordination and the appointment of chaplain in the *Santa Casa* at Loretto.

† Four hours before his execution he wrote to his brother-in-law, Pöhler, "My beloved, the hostess, is to have mass read for my soul at St. Marin by the rosy-coloured blood. She is to have prayers read in both parishes, and is to let the sub-landlord give my friends soup, meat, and half a bottle of wine each. The money I had with me I have distributed to the poor; as for the rest, settle my accounts with the people as justly as you can. All in the world adieu, until we all meet in heaven eternally to praise God. Death appears to me so easy that my eyes have not once been wet on that account. Written at five o'clock in the morning, and at nine o'clock I set off with the aid of all the saints on my journey to God."

either to allow himself to be blindfolded or to kneel. "I stand before my Creator," he exclaimed with a firm voice, "and standing will I restore to him the spirit he gave!" He gave the signal to fire, but the men, it may be, too deeply moved by the scene, missed their aim. The first fire brought him on his knees, the second stretched him on the ground, and a corporal, advancing, terminated his misery by shooting him through the head, February the 29th, 1810.*

Haspinger, the brave Capuchin, escaped unhurt to Vienna, in which Joseph Speckbacher, the greatest hero of this war, also succeeded, after unheard-of suffering and peril.†

* At a later period, when Mantua again became Austrian, the Tyrolese bore his remains back to his native Alps. A handsome monument of white marble was erected to his memory in the church at Innsbruck; his family was ennobled. Count Alexander of Würtemberg has poetically described the restoration of his remains to the Tyrol, for which he so nobly fought and died.

"How was the gallant hunter's breast
With mingled feelings torn,
As slowly winding 'mid the Alps,
His hero's corpse was borne!

The ancient Gletcher, glowing red,
Though cold their wonted mien,
Bright radiance shed o'er Hofer's head,
Loud thundered the lavine!"

† The Bavarians in pursuit of him searched the mountains in troops, and vowed to "cut his skin into boot-straps, if they caught him." Speckbacher attempted to escape into Austria, but was unable to go beyond Dux, the roads being blocked up with snow. At Dux, the Bavarians came upon his trace, and attacking the house in which he had taken refuge, he escaped by leaping through the roof, but again wounded himself. During the ensuing twenty-seven days, he wandered about the snow-clad forests, exposed to the bitter cold and in danger of starvation. During four consecutive days he did not taste food. He at length found an asylum in a hut in a high and exposed situation at Bolderberg, where he by chance fell in with his wife and children, who had also taken refuge there. The watchful Bavarians pursued him even here, and he merely owed his escape to the presence of mind with which, taking a sledge upon his shoulders, he advanced towards them as if he had been the servant of the house. No longer safe in this retreat, he hid himself in a cave on the Gemshaken, whence he was, in the beginning of spring, carried by a snow-lavine a mile and a half into the valley. He contrived to disengage himself from the snow, but one of his legs had been dislocated and rendered it impossible for him to regain his cave. Suffering unspeakable anguish, he crept to the nearest hut, where he found two men, who carried him to his own house at Rinn, whither his wife had

CCLVIII. *Napoleon's supremacy.*

NAPOLEON had, during the great war in Austria, during the intermediate time between the battles of Aspern and Wagram, caused the person of the pope, Pius VII., to be seized, and had incorporated the state of the church with his Italian kingdom. The venerable pope, whose energies were called forth by misfortune, astonished Christendom by his bold opposition to the ruler over the destinies of Europe, before whom he had formerly bent in humble submission, and for whose coronation he had condescended to visit Paris in person. The re-establishment of Catholicism in France by Napoleon had rendered the pope deeply his debtor, but Napoleon's attempt to deprive him of all temporal power, and to render him, as the first bishop of his realm, subordinate to himself, called forth a sturdy opposition. Napoleon no sooner spoke the language of Charlemagne, than the pope responded in the words of Gregory VII. and of Innocent IV.: "Time has produced no change in the authority of the pope; now as ever does the pope reign supreme over the emperors and kings of the earth." The diplomatic dispute was carried on for some time owing to Napoleon's expectation of the final compliance of the pope.* But on his continued refusal to submit, the peril with which Napoleon's Italian possessions were threatened by the landing of a British force in Italy and by the war with Austria, induced

returned. But Bavarians were quartered in the house, and his only place of refuge was the cow-shed, where Zoppel, his faithful servant, dug for him a hole beneath the bed of one of the cows, and daily brought him food. The danger of discovery was so great that his wife was not made acquainted with his arrival. He remained in this half-buried state for seven weeks, until rest had so far invigorated his frame as to enable him to escape across the high mountain passes, now freed by the May sun from the snow. He accordingly rose from his grave and bade adieu to his sorrowing wife. He reached Vienna without encountering further mishap, but gained no thanks for his heroism. He was compelled to give up a small estate that he had purchased with the remains of his property, the purchase-money proving insufficient, and he would have been consigned to beggary, had not Hofer's son, who had received a fine estate from the emperor, engaged him as his steward.

* The pope, among other things, long refused his consent to the second marriage of the king of Westphalia, although that prince's first wife was merely a Protestant and an American citizen.

him, first of all, to throw a garrison into Ancona, and afterwards to take possession of Rome, and, as the pope still continued obstinate, finally to seize his person, to carry him off to France, and to annex the Roman territory to his great empire. The anathema hurled by the pope upon Napoleon's head, had at least the effect of creating a warmer interest in behalf of the pontiff in the hearts of the Catholic population and of increasing their secret antipathy towards his antagonist.

In 1810, Napoleon annexed Holland and East Friesland "as alluvial lands" to France. His brother Louis, who had vainly laboured for the welfare of Holland, selected a foreign residence and scornfully refused to accept the pension settled upon him by Napoleon. The first act of the new sovereign of Holland was the imposition of an income tax of fifty per cent. Instruction in the French language was enforced in all the schools, and all public proclamations and documents were drawn up in both Dutch and French.* Holland was formed into two departments, which were vexed by two préfèts, the Conte de Celles and Baron Staffart, Belgian renegades and blind tools of the French despot, and was, moreover, harassed by the tyrannical and cruel espionage under Duvillieres, Duterrage, and Marivaux, which, in 1812, occasioned several ineffectual attempts to throw off the yoke.† In 1811, Holland was also deprived of Batavia, her sole remaining colony, by the British.

Lower Saxony, as far as the Baltic, the principalities of Oldenburg, Salm, and Aremberg, the Hanse towns, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, were, together with a portion of the kingdom of Westphalia, at the same time also incorporated by Napoleon with France, under pretext of putting a stop to the contraband trade carried on on those coasts, more particularly from the island of Heligoland. He openly aimed at converting the Germans, and they certainly discovered little disinclination to the metamorphosis, into French. He pursued

* Bilderdyk, whom the Dutch consider as their greatest poet, was, nevertheless, at that time, Napoleon's basest flatterer, and ever expressed an hypochondriacal and senseless antipathy to Germany.

† At Amsterdam, in 1811; in the district around Leyden, in 1812. Insurrections of a similar character were suppressed in April, 1811, in the country around Liege; in December, 1812, at Aix-la-Chapelle; the East Frieslanders also rebelled against the conscription.

the same policy towards the Italians, and, had he continued to reign, would have followed a similar system towards the Poles. The subjection of the whole of Italy, Germany, and Poland lay within his power, but, to the nations inhabiting those countries he must, notwithstanding their incorporation with his universal empire, have guaranteed the maintenance of their integrity, a point he had resolved at all hazards not to concede. He, consequently, preferred to divide these nations and to allow one half to be governed by princes inimical to him, but whose power he despised. His sole dread was patriotism, the popular love of liberty. Had he placed himself, as was possible in 1809, on the imperial throne of Germany, the consequent unity of that empire must, even under foreign sway, have endangered the ruler: he preferred gradually to gallicize Germany as she had been formerly romanized by her ancient conquerors. His intention to sever the Rhenish provinces and Lower Saxony entirely from Germany was clear as day. They received French laws, French governors, no German book was allowed to cross their frontiers without previous permission from the police, and in each department but one newspaper, and that subject to the revision of the préfèt, was allowed to be published.*——Madame de Staël was exiled for having spoken favourably of the German character in her work "de l' Allemagne," and the work itself was suppressed; Napoleon, on giving these orders, merely said, "Ce livre n' est pas Français."

His treatment of Switzerland was equally unindulgent. The Valais, which, although not forming part of Switzerland,

* In Hamburg, one Baumhauer was arrested for an anti-gallic expression and thrown into the subterranean dungeons of Magdeburg, where he pined to death. The same tyranny was exercised even on the German territory belonging to the Rhenish confederation. Becker, privy-counsellor of the duke of Gotha, was transported beyond the seas for having published a pamphlet against France. Several authors were compelled to retire into Sweden and Russia; several booksellers were arrested, numerous books were confiscated. Not the most trifling publication was permitted within the Rhenish confederated states that even remotely opposed the interests of France. The whole of the princes of the Rhenish confederation were, consequently, under the *surveillance* of French censors and of the literary spies of Germany in the pay of France. Hormayr's Archives contain a pamphlet well worthy of perusal, in which an account is given of all the arrests and persecutions that took place on account of matters connected with the press.

still retained a sort of nominal independence, was formally incorporated by France; the canton of Tessin was, as arbitrarily, occupied by French troops, an immense quantity of British goods was confiscated, the press was placed under the strictest censorship, the *Erzähler* of Müller-Freidberg, the only remaining Swiss newspaper of liberal tendency, was suppressed, whilst Zschokke unwearyedly lauded Napoleon to the skies as the regenerator of the liberties of Switzerland and as the saviour of the world. A humble entreaty of the Swiss for mercy was scornfully refused by Napoleon. Instead of listening to their complaints, he reproached their envoys, who were headed by Reinhard of Zurich, in the most violent terms, charged the Swiss with conspiracy, and said, that a certain Sydler had ventured to speak against him in the federal diet, etc.; nor could his assumed anger be pacified save by the instant dissolution of the federal diet, by the extension of the levy of Swiss recruits for the service of France, and by the threat of a terrible punishment to all Swiss who ventured to enter the service of England and Spain. The Swiss merely bound their chains still closer without receiving the slightest alleviation to their sufferings. Reinhard wrote in 1811, the time of this ill-successful attempt on the part of the Swiss, "a petty nation possesses no means of procuring justice." Why then did the great German nation scatter itself into so many petty tribes?

The marriage of Napoleon on the 2nd of April, 1810, with Maria Louisa, the daughter of the emperor of Austria, surrounded his throne with additional splendour. This marriage had a double object; that of raising an heir to his broad empire, his first wife, Josephine Beauharnois, whom he divorced, having brought him no children, and that of legitimating his authority and of obliterating the stain of low birth by intermingling his blood with that of the ancient race of Habsburg. Strange as it must appear for the child of revolution to deny the very principles to which he owed his being and to embrace the aristocratic ideas of a bygone age, for the proud conqueror of all the sovereigns of Europe anxiously to solicit their recognition of him as their equal in birth, these apparent contradictions are easily explained by the fact that men of liberal ideas were the objects of Napoleon's greatest dread and hatred, and that he was consequently

driven to favour the ancient aristocracy, as he had formerly favoured the ancient church, and to use them as his tools. Young and rising nations, not the ancient families of Europe, threatened his power, and he therefore sought to confirm it by an alliance against the former with the ancient dynasties.* The nuptials were solemnized with extraordinary pomp at Paris. The conflagration of the Austrian ambassador's, Prince von Schwarzenberg's, house during a splendid fête given by him to the newly-wedded pair, and which caused the death of several persons, among others, of the Princess Pauline Schwarzenberg, the ambassador's sister-in-law, who rushed into the flaming building to her daughter's rescue, clouded the festivities with ominous gloom. In the ensuing year, 1811, the youthful empress gave birth to a prince, Napoleon Francis, who was laid in a silver cradle, and provisionally entitled "King of Rome," in notification of his future destiny to succeed his father on the throne of the Roman empire.†

Austria offered a melancholy contrast to the magnificence of France. Exhausted by her continual exertions for the maintenance of the war, the state could no longer meet its obligations, and, on the 15th of March, 1811, Count Wallis, the minister of finance, lowered the value of one thousand and sixty millions of bank-paper to two hundred and twelve millions, and the interest upon the whole of the state-debts to half the new paper-issue. This fearful state-bankruptcy was accompanied by the fall of innumerable private firms; trade was completely at a stand-still, and the contributions demanded by Napoleon amounted to a sum almost impossible to realize.

* It was during this year that Napoleon caused the seamless coat of the Saviour, which had, during the Revolution, taken refuge at Augsburg, to be borne in a magnificent procession to Treves and to be exposed for eighteen days to public view. The pilgrims amounted to two hundred and fifty thousand.——Hormayr, who had, during the foregoing year, summoned the Tyrolese to arms against Napoleon, said in his Annual for 1811, "By the marriage of the emperor Napoleon with Maria Louisa, the Revolution may be considered as completely terminated and peace durably settled throughout Europe."

† His birth was celebrated by numerous German poets and by general public rejoicings, but with the basest adulation in Switzerland. Meyer of Knonau relates in his History of Switzerland, that the king of Rome was at one of the festivals termed "the blessed infant." Goethe's poem in praise of Napoleon appeared at this time. The clergy also emulated each other in servility.

Prussia, especially, suffered from the drain upon her resources. The beautiful and high-souled queen, Louisa, destined not to see the day of vengeance and of victory, died, in 1810, of a broken heart.*

Whilst Germany lay thus exhausted and bleeding in her chains, Napoleon and Alexander put the plans, agreed to between them at Erfurt, into execution. Napoleon threw himself with redoubled violence on luckless Spain, and the Russians invaded Sweden.

The Germans acted a prominent part in the bloody wars in the Peninsula. Four Swiss regiments, that had at an earlier period been in the Spanish service, and the German legion, composed of Hanoverian refugees to England, upheld the Spanish cause, whilst all sorts of troops of the Rhenish confederation, those of Bavaria and Würtemberg excepted, several Dutch and four Swiss regiments, fought for Napoleon.

The troops of the Rhenish confederation formed two corps. The fate of one of them has been described by Captain Rigel of Baden. The Baden regiment was, in 1808, sent to Biscay and united under Lefebvre with other contingents of the Rhenish confederation, for instance, with the Nassauers under the gallant Von Schäfer, the Dutch under General Chassé, the Hessians, the Primates (Frankfurters), and Poles. As early as October, they fought against the Spaniards at Zornoza, and at the pillage of Portugalete first became acquainted with the barbarous customs of this terrible civil war. The most implacable hatred, merciless rage, the assassination of prisoners, plunder, destruction, and incendiarism, equally distinguished both sides. The Germans garrisoned Bilboa, gained some successes at Molinar and Valmaseda, were afterwards placed under the command of General Victor, who arrived with a fresh army, were again victorious at Espinosa and Burgos, formed a junction with Soult and finally with Napoleon, and, in December, 1808, entered Madrid in triumph.—— In January, 1809, the German troops under Victor again advanced upon the Tagus, and, after a desperate conflict, took the celebrated bridge of Almaraz by storm. This was followed by the horrid sacking of the little town of Arenas, during

* At that time the noble-hearted poet, Seume, who had formerly been a victim of native tyranny, died of sorrow and disgust at the rule of the foreigner in Germany, at Tœplitz, A. D. 1810.

which a Nassauer, named Hornung, not only, like a second Scipio, generously released a beautiful girl who had fallen into his hands, but sword-in-hand defended her from his fellow-soldiers. In the following March, the Germans were again brought into action, at Mesa de Ibor, where Schäfer's Nassauers drove the enemy from their position, under a fearful fire, which cut down three hundred of their number; and at Medelin, where they were again victorious and massacred numbers of the armed Spanish peasantry. Four hundred prisoners were, after the battle, shot by order of Marshal Victor. Among the wounded on the field of battle there lay, side by side, Preusser, the Nassauer, and a Spanish corporal, both of whom had severely suffered. A dispute arose between them, in the midst of which they discovered that they were brothers. One had entered the French, the other the Spanish service.——A Dutch battalion under Storm de Grave, abandoned at Merida to the vengeance of the enraged people, was furiously assailed, but made a gallant defence and fought its way through the enemy.

In the commencement of 1809, Napoleon had again quitted Spain in order to conduct the war on the Danube in person. His marshals, left by him in different parts of the Peninsula, took Saragossa, drove the British under Sir John Moore out of the country, and penetrated into Portugal, but were ere long again attacked by a fresh English army under the Duke of Wellington. This rendered the junction of the German troops with the main body of the French army necessary, and they consequently shared in the defeats of Talavera and Almoncid. Their losses, more particularly in the latter engagement, were very considerable, amounting in all to two thousand six hundred men; among others, General Porbeck of Baden, an officer of noted talent, fell: five hundred of their wounded were butchered after the battle by the infuriated Spaniards. But Wellington suddenly stopped short in his victorious career. It was in December, 1809, when the news of the fresh peace concluded by Napoleon with Austria arrived. On the Spaniards hazarding a fresh engagement, Wellington left them totally unassisted, and, on the 19th of November, they suffered a dreadful defeat at Ocasia, where they lost twenty-five thousand men. The Rhenish confederated troops were, in reward for the gallantry displayed by them on this

occasion, charged with the transport of the prisoners into France, and were exposed to the whole rigour of the climate and to every sort of deprivation whilst the French withdrew into winter quarters. The fatigues of this service greatly thinned their ranks. The other German regiments were sent into the Sierra Morena, where they were kept ever on the alert guarding that key to Spain, whilst the French under Soult advanced as far as Cadiz, those under Massena into Portugal, but Soult being unable to take Cadiz and Massena being forced by the Duke of Wellington to retire, the German troops were also driven from their position, and, in 1812, withdrew to Valencia, but, in the October of the same year, again advanced with Soult upon Madrid.

The second corps of the Rhenish confederated troops was stationed in Catalonia, where they were fully occupied. Their fate has been described by two Saxon officers, Jacobs and von Seebach. In the commencement of 1809, Reding the Swiss, who had, in 1808, chiefly contributed to the capture of the French army at Baylen, commanded the whole of the Spanish forces in Catalonia, consisting of forty thousand Spaniards and several thousand Swiss; but these guerilla troops, almost invincible in petty warfare, were totally unable to stand in open battle against the veterans of the French emperor, and Reding was completely routed by St. Cyr at Taragona. In St. Cyr's army were eight thousand Westphalians under General Morio, three thousand Berglanders, fifteen hundred Würzburgers, from eight to nine hundred men of Schwarzburg, Lippe, Waldeck, and Reuss, all of whom were employed in the wearisome siege of Gerona, which was defended by Don Alvarez, one of Spain's greatest heroes. The popular enthusiasm was so intense, that even the women took up arms (in the company of St. Barbara) and aided in the defence of the walls. The Germans, ever destined to head the assault, suffered immense losses on each attempt to carry the place by storm. In one attack alone, on the 3rd of July, in which they met with a severe repulse, they lost two thousand of their men. Their demand of a truce for the purpose of carrying their wounded off the field of battle, was answered by a Spaniard, Colonel Blas das Furnas, "A quarter of an hour hence not one of them will be alive!" and the whole of the wounded men were, in fact, murdered in cold blood by the Spaniards.

During a second assault on the 19th of September, sixteen hundred of their number and the gallant Colonel Neuff, an Alsacian, who had served in Egypt, fell. Gerona was finally driven by famine to capitulate, after a sacrifice of twelve thousand men, principally Germans, before her walls. Of the eight thousand Westphalians but one battalion remained. St. Cyr was, in 1810, replaced by Marshal Augereau, but the troops were few in number and worn out with fatigue; a large convoy was lost in an unlucky engagement, in which numbers of the Germans deserted to the Spanish, and Augereau retired to Barcelona, the metropolis of Catalonia, in order to await the arrival of reinforcements, among which was a Nassau regiment, one of Anhalt, and the identical Saxon corps that had so dreadfully suffered in the Tyrol.* The Saxon and Nassau troops, two thousand two hundred strong, under the command of General Schwarz, an Alsacian, advanced from Barcelona towards the celebrated mountain of Montserrat, whose hermitages, piled up one above another *en amphitheatre*, excite the traveller's wonder. Close in its vicinity lay the city of Manresa, the focus of the Catalonian insurrection. The German troops advanced in close column, although surrounded by infuriated multitudes, by whom every straggler was mercilessly butchered. The two regiments, nevertheless, succeeded in making themselves masters of Manresa, where they were instantly shut in, furiously assailed, and threatened with momentary destruction. The Anhalt troops and a French corps, despatched by Augereau to their relief, were repulsed with considerable loss. Schwarz now boldly sallied forth, fought his way through the Spaniards, and, after losing a thousand men, succeeded in reaching Barcelona, but was shortly afterwards, after assisting at the taking of Hostalrich, surprised at La Bisbal and taken prisoner with almost all the Saxon troops. The few that remained fell victims to disease.† The fate of the prisoners was indeed

* This regiment was merely rewarded by Napoleon for its gallantry with 15 gros (1*s.* 6*d.*) per man, in order to drink to his health on his birthday.—*Von Seebach.*

† What the feeling among the Germans was is plainly shown by the charge against General Beurmann for general ill-treatment of his countrymen, whom he was accused of having allowed to perish in the hospitals, in order to save the expense of their return home. Out of seventy officers and two thousand four hundred and twenty-three privates belonging to

melancholy. Several thousand of them died on the Balearic islands, chiefly on the island of Cabrera, where, naked and houseless, they dug for themselves holes in the sand and died in great numbers of starvation. They often also fell victims to the fury of the inhabitants. The Swiss, engaged in the Spanish service, sometimes saved their lives at the hazard of their own.

Opposed to them was the German legion, composed of the brave Hanoverians, who had preferred exile in Britain to submission to Jerome, and had been sent in British men-of-war to Portugal, whence they had, in conjunction with the troops of England and Spain, penetrated, in 1808, into the interior of Spain.* At Benavente, they made a furious charge upon the French and took their long-delayed revenge. Linsingen's cavalry cut down all before them; arms were severed at a blow, heads were split in two; one head was found cut in two across from one ear to the other. A young Hanoverian soldier took General Lefebvre prisoner, but allowed himself to be deprived of his valuable captive by an Englishman.—— The Hanoverians served first under Sir John Moore. On the death of that commander at Corunna, the troops under his command returned to England. A ship of the line, with two Hanoverian battalions on board, was lost during the passage. The German legion afterwards served under the Duke of Wellington, and shared the dangers and the glory of the war in the Peninsula. "The admirable accuracy and rapidity of the German artillery under Major Hartmann greatly contributed to the victory of Talavera, and received the personal encomiums of the Duke." Langwerth's brigade gained equal glory. The German legion was, however, never in full force in Spain. A division was, in 1809, sent to the island of Walcheren, but shared the ill-success attending all the attempts made in the North Sea during Napoleon's reign. The conquest and demolition of Vliessingen in August, was the only

the Saxon regiment, but thirty-nine officers and three hundred and nineteen privates returned to their native country. Vide Jacob's Campaigns of the Gotha-Altenburgers and von Seebach's History of the Campaigns of the Saxon Infantry. Von Seebach, who was taken prisoner on his return from Manresa, has given a particularly detailed and graphic account of the campaign.

* Beamish has recounted their exploits in detail. The "Recollections of a Legionary," Hanover, 1826, are also worthy of perusal.

result. A pestilence broke out among the troops, and, on Napoleon's successes in Austria, it was compelled to return to England. A third division, consisting of several Hanoverian regiments, was sent to Sicily, accompanied the expedition to Naples in 1809, and afterwards guarded the rocks of Sicily. The Hanoverians in Spain were also separated into various divisions, each of which gained great distinction, more particularly so, the corps of General Alten in the storming of Ciudad-Rodrigo. In 1812, the Hanoverian cavalry broke three French squares at Garcia Hernandez.

The Russians had, meanwhile, invaded Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus, hitherto Russia's firmest ally, was suddenly and treacherously attacked. General Buxhövden overran Finnland, inciting the people, as he advanced, to revolt against their lawful sovereign. But the brave Finnlanders stoutly resisted the attempted imposition of the yoke of the barbarous Russ, and, although ill-supported by Sweden, performed prodigies of valour. Gustavus Adolphus was devoid of military knowledge, and watched, as if sunk in torpor, the ill-planned operations of his generals. Whilst the flower of the Swedish troops was uselessly employed against Denmark and Norway, Finnland was allowed to fall into the grasp of Russia.* The Russians were already expected to land in Sweden, when a conspiracy broke out among the nobility and officers of the army, which terminated in the seizure of the king's person and his deposition, March, 1809. His son, Gustavus Vasa, the present ex-king of Sweden, was excluded from the succession, and his uncle Charles, the imbecile and unworthy duke of Sudermania,† was proclaimed king under the title of Charles XIII. He was put up as a scarecrow by the conspirators. Gustavus Adolphus IV. had, at all events, shown himself incapable of saving Sweden. But the conspirators were no patriots, nor was their object the preservation of their country; they were merely bribed traitors, weak and incapable as the monarch they had dethroned. They were com-

* The gallant acts of the Finnlanders and the brutality of the Russians are brought forward in Arndt's "Swedish Histories."

† When regent, on the death of Gustavus III., he had spared his murderers and released those criminated in the conspiracy. On the present occasion, he yielded in every thing to the aristocracy, and voted for the dethronement of his own house, which, as he had no children, infallibly ensued on the exclusion of the youthful Gustavus.

posed of a party among the ancient nobility, impatient of the restrictions of a monarchy, and of the younger officers in the army, who were filled with enthusiasm for Napoleon. The rejoicings on the occasion of the abdication of Gustavus Adolphus were heightened by the news of the victory gained by Napoleon at Ratisbon, which, at the same time, reached Stockholm. The new and wretched Swedish government instantly deferred every thing to Napoleon and humbly solicited his favour; but Napoleon, to whom the friendship of Russia was, at that time, of higher importance than the submission of a handful of intriguants in Sweden, received their homage with marked coldness. Finnland, shamefully abandoned in her hour of need, was immediately ceded to Russia, in consideration of which, Napoleon graciously restored Rugen and Swedish-Pomerania to Sweden. Charles XIII. adopted as his son and successor, Christian Augustus, prince of Holstein-Augustenburg, who, falling dead off his horse at a review,* the aged and childless monarch was compelled to make a second choice, which fell upon the French general, Bernadotte, who had, at one time, been a furious Jacobin and had afterwards acted as Napoleon's general and commandant in Swedish-Pomerania, where he had, by his mildness, gained great popularity. The majority in Sweden deemed him merely a creature of Napoleon, whose favour they hoped to gain by this flattering choice; others, it may be, already beheld in him Napoleon's future foe, and knew the value of the sagacity and wisdom with which he was endowed and of which the want was so deeply felt in Sweden at a period when intrigue and cunning had succeeded to violence. The free-masons, with whom he had placed himself in close communication, appeared to have greatly influenced his election.† The unfortunate king, Gustavus Adolphus, after being long kept a close prisoner in the castle of Gripsholm, where his strong religious bias had been strengthened by apparitions,‡ was permitted to retire into Germany; he disdainfully refused to

* An extremely suspicious accident, which gave rise to many reports.

† Vide Posselt's Sixth Annual.

‡ This castle was haunted by the ghost of King Eric XIV., who had long pined here in close imprisonment, and who had once before, during a sumptuous entertainment given by Gustavus Adolphus IV. to his brother-in-law, the Margrave of Baden, struck the whole court with terror by his shrieks and groans.

accept of a pension, separated himself from his consort, a princess of Baden, and lived in proud poverty, under the name of Colonel Gustavson, in Switzerland.——Bernadotte, the newly-adopted prince, took the title of Charles John, crown-prince of Sweden. Napoleon, who was in ignorance of this intrigue, was taken by surprise, but, in the hope of Bernadotte's continued fidelity, presented him with a million *en cadeau;* Bernadotte had, however, been long jealous of Napoleon's fortune, and, solely intent upon gaining the hearts of his future subjects, deceived him and secretly permitted the British to trade with Sweden, although publicly a party in the continental system.

This system was at this period enforced with exaggerated severity by Napoleon. He not only prohibited the importation of all British goods, but seized all already sent to the continent and condemned them to be publicly burnt. Millions evaporated in smoke, principally at Amsterdam, Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Leipzig. The wealthiest mercantile establishments were made bankrupt.

In addition to the other blows at that time zealously bestowed upon the dead German lion, the king of Denmark attempted to extirpate the German language in Schleswig, but the edict to that effect, published on the 19th of January, 1811, was frustrated by the courage of the clergy, schoolmasters, and peasantry, who obstinately refused to learn Danish.*

CCLIX. *The Russian campaign.*

An enormous comet, that during the whole of the hot summer of 1811 hung threatening in the heavens, appeared as the harbinger of great and important vicissitudes to the enslaved inhabitants of the earth, and it was in truth by an act of Divine providence that a dispute arose between the two giant powers intent upon the partition of Europe.

Napoleon was over-reached by Russia, whose avarice, far from being glutted by the possession of Finnland, great part of Prussian and Austrian Poland, Moldavia, and Wallachia, still craved for more, and who built her hopes of Napoleon's compliance with her demands on his value for her friendship.

* Wimpfen, History of Schleswig.

Belgrade was seized, Servia demanded, and the whole of Turkey in Europe was openly grasped at. Napoleon was, however, little inclined to concede the Mediterranean to his Russian ally, to whose empire he gave the Danube as a boundary. Russia next demanded possession of the duchy of Warsaw, which was refused by Napoleon. The Austrian marriage was meanwhile concluded. Napoleon, prior to his demand for the hand of the archduchess Maria Louisa, had sued for that of the grand-duchess Anna, sister to the emperor Alexander, who was then in her 16th year, but, being refused by her mother, the empress Maria, a princess of Würtemberg, and Alexander delaying a decisive answer, he formed an alliance with the Habsburg. This event naturally led Russia to conclude that she would no longer be permitted to aggrandize herself at the expense of Austria, and Alexander consequently assumed a threatening posture and condescended to listen to the complaints, hitherto condemned to silence, of the agricultural and mercantile classes. No Russian vessel durst venture out to sea, and a Russian fleet had been seized by the British in the harbours of Lisbon. At Riga lay immense stores of grain in want of a foreign market. On the 31st of December, 1810, Alexander published a fresh tariff permitting the importation of colonial products under a neutral flag, (several hundred English ships arrived under the American flag,) and prohibiting the importation of French manufactured goods. Not many weeks previously, on the 13th of December, Napoleon had annexed Oldenburg to France. The duke, Peter, was nearly related to the emperor of Russia, and Napoleon, notwithstanding his declared readiness to grant a compensation, refused to allow it to consist of the grand-duchy of Warsaw and proposed a duchy of Erfurt, as yet uncreated, which Russia scornfully rejected.

The alliance between Russia, Sweden, and England was now speedily concluded. Sweden, who had vainly demanded from Napoleon the possession of Norway and a large supply of money, assumed a tone of indignation, threw open her harbours to the British merchantmen, and so openly carried on a contraband trade in Pomerania, that Napoleon, in order to maintain the continental system, was constrained to garrison Swedish Pomerania and Rügen and to disarm the Swedish inhabitants. Bernadotte, upon this, ranged himself

entirely on the side of his opponents, without, however, coming to an open rupture, for which he awaited a declaration on the part of Russia. The expressions made use of by Napoleon on the birth of the king of Rome at length filled up the measure of provocation. Intoxicated with success, he boasted, in an address to the mercantile classes, that he would in despite of Russia maintain the continental system, for he was lord over the whole of continental Europe: that if Alexander had not concluded a treaty with him at Tilsit, he would have compelled him to do so at Petersburg.——The pride of the haughty Russian was deeply wounded, and a rupture was nigh at hand.

Two secret systems were at this period undermining each other in Prussia, that of the *Tugenbund* founded by Stein and Scharnhorst, whose object being the liberation of Germany at all hazards from the yoke of Napoleon, consequently, favoured Russia, and that of Hardenberg, which aimed at a close union with France. Hardenberg, whose position as chancellor of state gave him the upper hand, had compromised Prussia by the servility with which he sued for an alliance, long scornfully refused and at length conceded on the most humiliating terms by Napoleon.*

Russia had, meanwhile, made preparations for a war unanticipated by Napoleon. As early as 1811, a great Russian army stood ready for the invasion of Poland, and might, as there were at that time but few French troops in Germany, easily have advanced as far as the Elbe. It remained, nevertheless, in a state of inactivity.† Napoleon instantly prepared for war and fortified Dantzig. His continual proposals of peace, ever unsatisfactory to the ambition of the czar, remaining at length unanswered, he declared war. The Rhenish confederation followed as usual in his train, and Austria, from an interested motive, the hope of regaining in the East by Napoleon's assistance all she had lost by opposing him in the West, or that of regaining her station as the third European power when the resources of the two ruling powers,

* Vide Bignon.

† From a letter of Count Münster in Hormayr's Sketches of Life, it appears that Russia still cherished the hope of great concessions being made by Napoleon in order to avoid war and was therefore still reserved in her relations with England and the Prussian patriots.

whose coalition had threatened her existence, had been exhausted by war. Prussia also followed the eagles of Napoleon: the Hardenberg party, with a view of conciliating him, and, like the Rhenish confederation, from motives of gain: the *Tugendbund*, which predominated in the army, with silent but implacable hate.

In the spring of 1812, Napoleon, after leaving a sufficient force to prosecute the war with activity in Spain and to guard France, Italy, and Germany,* led half a million men to the Russian frontiers. Before taking the field, he convoked all the princes of Germany to Dresden, where he treated them with such extreme insolence as even to revolt his most favoured and warmest partisans. Tears were seen to start in ladies' eyes, whilst men bit their lips with rage at the petty humiliations and affronts heaped on them by their powerful but momentary lord. The empress of Austria † and the king of Prussia ‡ appear, on this occasion, to have felt the most acutely.

For the first time—an event unknown in the history of the world—the whole of Germany was reduced to submission. Napoleon, greater than conquering Attila, who took the field at the head of one half of Germany against the other, dragged the whole of Germany in his train. The army led by him to the steppes of Russia was principally composed of German troops, who were so skilfully mixed up with the French as not to be themselves aware of their numerical superiority.

* French troops garrisoned German fortresses and perpetually passed along the principal roads, which were for that purpose essentially improved by Napoleon. In 1810, a great part of the town of Eisenach was destroyed by the bursting of some French powder-carts that were carelessly brought through, and by which great numbers of people were killed.

† Who was far surpassed in splendour by her step-daughter of France.

‡ Segur relates that he was received politely but with distant coolness by Napoleon. There is said to have been question between them concerning the marriage of the crown-prince of Prussia with one of Napoleon's nieces, and of an incorporation of the still unconquered Russian provinces on the Baltic, Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia, with Prussia. All was, however, empty show. Napoleon hoped by the rapidity of his successes to constrain the emperor of Russia to conclude not only peace but a still closer alliance with France, in which case it was as far from his intention to concede the above-mentioned provinces to Prussia as to emancipate the Poles.

The right wing, composed of thirty thousand Austrians under Schwarzenberg, was destined for the invasion of Volhynia; whilst the left wing, consisting of twenty thousand Prussians under York and several thousand French, under the command of Marshal Macdonald, was ordered to advance upon the coasts of the Baltic and without loss of time to besiege Riga. The centre or main body consisted of the troops of the Rhenish confederation, more or less mixed up with French; of thirty-eight thousand Bavarians under Wrede and commanded by St. Cyr; of sixteen thousand Würtembergers under Scheeler, over which Marshal Ney was allotted the chief command; single regiments, principally cavalry, were drawn off in order more thoroughly to intermix the Germans with the French; of seventeen thousand Saxons under Reynier; of eighteen thousand Westphalians under Vandamme; also of Hessians, Badeners, Frankfurters, Würzburgers, Nassauers, in short, of contingents furnished by each of the confederated states. The Swiss were mostly concentrated under Oudinot. The Dutch, Hanseatic, Flemish, in fine, all the Germans on the left bank of the Rhine, were at that time crammed amongst the French troops. Upwards of two hundred thousand Germans, at the lowest computation, marched against Russia, a number far superior to that of the French in the army, the remainder of which was made up by several thousand Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards, who had been pressed into the service.*

The Prussians found themselves in the most degraded position. Their army, weak as it was in numbers, was placed under the command of a French general. The Prussian fortresses, with the exception of Colberg, Graudenz, Schweidnitz, Neisse, and Glatz, were already garrisoned with French troops, or, like Pillau near Königsberg, newly occupied by them. In Berlin, the French had unlimited sway. Marshal Augereau was stationed with sixty thousand men in Northern Germany for the purpose of keeping that part of the country, and more particularly Prussia, in check to Napoleon's rear; the Danish forces also stood in readiness to support him in case of necessity. Napoleon's entire army moreover marched through Prussia and completely drained that country of its last resources. Napoleon deemed it un-

* Napoleon said at that time to a Russian, "Si vous perdez cinq Russes, je ne perds qu'un Français et quatre cochons."

necessary to take measures equal in severity towards Austria, where the favour of the court seemed to be secured by his marriage, and the allegiance of the army by the presence of Schwarzenberg, who neither rejected nor returned his confidence. A rich compensation was, by a secret compact, secured to Austria in case the cession of Gallicia should be necessitated by the expected restoration of the kingdom of Poland, with which Napoleon had long flattered the Poles, who, misled by his promises, served him with the greatest enthusiasm. But, notwithstanding the removal of the only obstacle, the jealousy of Austria in regard to Gallicia, by this secret compact, his promises remained unfulfilled, and he took possession of the whole of Poland without restoring her ancient independence. The petitions addressed to him on this subject by the Poles received dubious replies, and he pursued towards his unfortunate dupes his ancient system of dismembering and intermingling nations, of tolerating no national unity. Napoleon's principal motive, however, was his expectation of compelling the emperor by a well-aimed blow to conclude peace, and of forming with him an alliance upon still more favourable terms against the rest of the European powers. The friendship of Russia was of far more import to him than all the enthusiasm of the Poles.

The deep conviction harboured by Napoleon, of his irresistible power led him to repay every service and to regard every antagonist with contempt. Confident of victory, he deviated from the strict military discipline he had at one time enforced and of which he had given an example in his own person, dragged in his train a multitude of useless attendants fitted but for pomp and luxury, permitted his marshals and generals to do the same, and an incredible number of private carriages, servants, women, etc., to follow in the rear of the army, to hamper its movements, create confusion, and aid in consuming the army stores, which being, moreover, merely provided for a short campaign, speedily became insufficient for the maintenance of the enormous mass. Even in Eastern Prussia, numbers of the soldiery were constrained by want to plunder the villages.——On the 24th of June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Niemen, the Russian frontier, not far from Kowno. The season was already too far advanced. It may be that, deceived by the mildness of the winter of 1806 to

1807, he imagined it possible to protract the campaign without peril to himself until the winter months. No enemy appeared to oppose his progress. Barclay de Tolly,* the Russian commander-in-chief, pursued the system followed by the Scythians against Darius, and, perpetually retiring before the enemy, gradually drew him deep into the dreary and deserted steppes. This plan originated with Scharnhorst, by whom General Lieven was advised not to hazard an engagement until the winter, and to turn a deaf ear to every proposal of peace.† General Lieven, on reaching Barclay's head-quarters, took Colonel Toll, a German, Barclay's right hand, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clausewitz, also a German, afterwards noted for his strategical works, into his confidence. General Pfull, another German, at that time high in the emperor's confidence, and almost all the Russian generals opposed Scharnhorst's plan and continued to advance with a view of giving battle: but, on Napoleon's appearance at the head of an army greatly their superior in number before the Russians had been able to concentrate their forces, they were naturally compelled to retire before him, and, on the prevention, for some weeks, of the junction of a newly-levied Russian army under Prince Bragation with the forces under Barclay, owing to the rapidity of Napoleon's advance, Scharnhorst's plan was adopted as the only one feasible.

Napoleon, in the hope of overtaking the Russians and of compelling them to give battle, pushed onwards by forced marches; the supplies were unable to follow, and numbers of the men and horses sank from exhaustion owing to overfatigue, heat, and hunger.‡ On the arrival of Napoleon in Witebst, of Schwarzenberg in Volhynia, of the Prussians before Riga, the army might have halted, reconquered Poland

* This general, on the opening of the war, published a proclamation to the Germans, summoning them to throw off the yoke of Napoleon.—*Allgemeine Zeitung, No.* 327. Napoleon replied with, "Whom are you addressing? There are no Germans, there are only Austrians, Prussians, Bavarians, etc."—*All. Zeitung, No.* 228.

† Vide Clausewitz's Works.

‡ At each encampment the men were left in such numbers in hastily erected hospitals, that of thirty-eight thousand Bavarians, for instance, but ten thousand, of sixteen thousand Würtembergers, but thirteen hundred reached Smolensko.

have been organized, the men put into winter-quarters, the army have again taken the field early in the spring, and the conquest of Russia have been slowly but surely completed. But Napoleon had resolved upon terminating the war in one rapid campaign, upon defeating the Russians, seizing their metropolis, and dictating terms of peace, and incessantly pursued his retreating opponent, whose footsteps were marked by the flames of the cities and villages and by the devastated country to their rear. The first serious opposition was made at Smolensko,* whence the Russians, however, speedily retreated after setting the city on fire. On the same day, the Bavarians, who had diverged to one side during their advance, had a furious encounter, in which General Deroy, formerly distinguished for his services in the Tyrol, was killed, at Poloczk with a body of Russian troops under Wittgenstein. The Bavarians remained stationary in this part of the country for the purpose of watching the movements of that general, whilst Napoleon, careless of the peril with which he was threatened by the approach of winter and by the multitude of enemies gathering to his rear, advanced with the main body of the grand army from Smolensko across the wasted country upon Moscow, the ancient metropolis of the Russian empire.

Russia, at that time engaged in a war with Turkey, whose frontiers were watched by an immense army under Kutusow, used her utmost efforts, in which she was aided by England, to conciliate the Porte in order to turn the whole of her forces against Napoleon. By a master-stroke of political intrigue,† the Porte, besides concluding peace at Bucharest on the 28th of May, ceded the province of Bessarabia (not Moldavia and Wallachia) to Russia. A Russian army under

* The Würtembergers distinguished themselves here by storming the faubourgs and the bridges across the Dnieper.

† The Greek prince, Moruzi, who at that time conducted Turkish diplomacy, accepted a bribe, and concluded peace in the expectation of becoming Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia. Sultan Mahmud refusing to ratify this disgraceful treaty, gold was showered upon the Turkish army, which suddenly dispersed, and the deserted sultan was compelled to yield. Moruzi was deprived of his head, but the Russians had gained their object. It must, moreover, be considered that Napoleon was regarded with distrust by the Porte, against whom he had fought in Egypt, whom he had afterwards enticed into a war with Russia and had, by the alliance formed at Erfurt with that power, abandoned.

Tschitschakow was now enabled to drive the Austrians out of Volhynia, whilst a considerable force under Kutusow joined Barclay. Had the Russians at this time hazarded an engagement, their defeat was certain. Moscow could not have been saved. Barclay consequently resolved not to come to an engagement, but to husband his forces and to attack the French during the winter. The intended surrender of Moscow without a blow was, nevertheless, deeply resented as a national disgrace; the army and the people* raised a clamour, the venerable Kutusow was nominated commander-in-chief, and, taking up a position on the little river Moskwa near Borodino, about two days' journey from Moscow, a bloody engagement took place there on the 7th of September, in which Napoleon, in order to spare his guards, neglected to follow up his advantage with his usual energy and allowed the defeated Russians, whom he might have totally annihilated, to escape. Napoleon triumphed; but at what a price! After a fearful struggle, in which he lost forty thousand men in killed and wounded,† the latter of whom perished almost to a man, owing to want and neglect.‡

Moscow was now both defenceless and void of inhabitants. Napoleon traversed this enormous city, containing two hundred and ninety-five churches and fifteen hundred palaces rising from amid a sea of inferior dwellings, and took possession of the residence of the czars, the 14th of November, 1812. The whole city was, however, deserted, and scarcely had the French army taken up its quarters in it than flames burst from the empty and closely shut-up houses, and, ere long, the whole of the immense city became a sea of fire and was reduced, before Napoleon's eyes, to ashes. Every attempt

* Colonel Toll was insulted during the discussion by Prince Bragation for the firmness with which he upheld Scharnhorst's plan, and avoided hazarding a useless engagement. Prince Bragation was killed in the battle.

† A Russian redoubt, the key of the field of battle, was taken and again lost. A Würtemberg regiment instantly pushed through the fugitive French, retook the redoubt and retained possession of it. It also, on this occasion, saved the life of the king of Naples and delivered him out of the hands of the Russians, who had already taken him prisoner. —*Ten Campaigns of the Würtembergers.*

‡ Every thing was wanting, lint, linen, even necessary food. The wounded men lay for days and weeks under the open sky and fed upon the carcasses of horses.

to extinguish the flames proved unavailing. Rostopchin, the commandant of Moscow, had, previously to his retreat, put combustible materials, which were ignited on the entrance of the French by men secreted for that purpose, into the houses.* A violent wind aided the work of destruction. The patriotic sacrifice was performed, nor failed its object. Napoleon, instead of peace and plenty, merely found ashes in Moscow.

Instead of pursuing the defeated Russians to Kaluga, where, in pursuance of Toll's first laid-down plan, they took up a position close upon the flank of the French and threatened to impede their retreat; instead of taking up his winter-quarters in the fertile South or of quickly turning and fixing himself in Lithuania in order to collect reinforcements for the ensuing year, Napoleon remained in a state of inaction at Moscow until the 19th of October, in expectation of proposals of peace from Alexander. The terms of peace offered by him on his part to the Russians did not even elicit a reply. His cavalry, already reduced to a great state of exhaustion, were, in the beginning of October, surprised before the city of Tarutino and repulsed with considerable loss. This at length decided Napoleon upon marching upon Kaluga, but the moment for success had already passed. The reinforced and inspirited Russians made such a desperate resistance at Malo-Jaroslawez that he resolved to retire by the nearest route, that by which he had penetrated up the country, marked by ashes and pestilential corpses, into Lithuania. Winter had not yet set in, and his ranks were already thinned by famine.† Kutusow, with the main body of the Russian army, pursued the retreating French and again overtook them at Wiazma, 3rd November. Napoleon's hopes now rested on the separate *corps d'armée* left to his rear on his advance upon Moscow, but they were, notwithstanding the defeat of Wittgenstein's corps by the Bavarians under Wrede, kept in check by fresh Russian armies and exposed to all the horrors of winter.‡ In Vol-

* This combustible matter had been prepared by Schmid, the Dutchman, under pretext of preparing an enormous balloon from which fire was to be scattered upon the French army.

† As early as the 2nd of November the remainder of the Würtembergers tore off their colours and concealed them in their knapsacks.—*Roos's Memorabilia of* 1812.

‡ On the 18th of October, the Bavarians, who were intermixed with Swiss, performed prodigies of valour, but were so reduced by sufferings

hynia, Schwarzenberg had zealously endeavoured to—spare his troops,* and had, by his retreat towards the grand-duchy of Warsaw, left Tschitschakow at liberty to turn his arms against Napoleon, against whom Wittgenstein also advanced in the design of blocking up his route, whilst Kutusow incessantly assailed his flank and rear. On the 6th of November, the frost suddenly set in. The horses died by thousands in a single night; the greater part of the cavalry was consequently dismounted, and it was found necessary to abandon part of the booty and artillery. A deep snow shortly afterwards fell and obstructed the path of the fugitive army. The frost became more and more rigorous; but few of the men had sufficient strength left to continue to carry their arms and to cover the flight of the rest. Most of the soldiers threw away their arms and merely endeavoured to preserve

of every description as to be unable to maintain Poloczk. Segur says in his History of the War, that St. Cyr left Wrede's gallant conduct unmentioned in the military despatches, and that when, on St. Cyr's being disabled by his wounds, Wrede applied for the chief command, which naturally reverted to him, the army being almost entirely composed of Bavarians, Napoleon refused his request. Völderndorf says in his Bavarian Campaigns, that St. Cyr faithlessly abandoned the Bavarians in their utmost extremity, and when all peril was over returned to Poland in order to retake the command. During the retreat from Poloczk he had ordered the bridges to be pulled down, leaving on the other side a Bavarian park of artillery with the army chest and two and twenty ensigns, which for better security had been packed upon a carriage. The whole of these trophies fell, owing to St. Cyr's negligence or ill-will, into the hands of the Russians. "The Bavarians with difficulty concealed their antipathy towards the French." On St. Cyr's flight, Wrede kept the remainder of the Bavarians together, covered Napoleon's retreat, and, in conjunction with the Westphalians and Hessians, stood another encounter with the Russians at Wilna. Misery and want at length scattered his forces; he, nevertheless, re-assembled them in Poland and was able to place four thousand men, on St. Cyr's return, under his command. He returned home to Bavaria sick. Of these four thousand Bavarians but one thousand and fifty were led by Count Rechberg back to their native soil. A great number of Bavarians, however, remained under General Zoller to garrison Thorn, and about fifteen hundred of them returned home.——At the passage of the Beresina, the Würtembergers had still about eighty men under arms, and in Poland about three hundred assembled, the only ones who returned free. Some were afterwards liberated from imprisonment in Russia.

* This was Austria's natural policy. In the French despatches, Schwarzenberg was charged with having allowed Tschitschakow to escape in order to pursue the inconsiderable force under Sacken.

life. Napoleon's grand army was scattered over the boundless snow-covered steppes, whose dreary monotony was solely broken by some desolate half-burnt village. Gaunt forms of famine, wan, hollow-eyed, wrapped in strange garments of misery, skins, women's clothes, etc., and with long-grown beards, dragged their faint and weary limbs along, fought for a dead horse whose flesh was greedily torn from the carcass, murdered each other for a morsel of bread, and fell one after the other in the deep snow, never again to rise. Bones of frozen corpses lay each morn around the dead ashes of the night fires.* Numbers were seen to spring, with a horrid cry of mad exultation, into the flaming houses. Numbers fell into the hands of the Russian boors, who stripped them naked and chased them through the snow. Smolensko was at length reached, but the loss of the greater part of the cannon, the want of ammunition and provisions, rendered their stay in that deserted and half-consumed city impossible. The flight was continued, the Russians incessantly pursuing and harassing the worn-out troops, whose retreat was covered by Ney with all the men still under arms. Cut off at Smolensko, he escaped almost by miracle, by creeping during the night along the banks of the Dnieper and successively repulsing the several Russian corps that threw themselves in his way.† A thaw now took place, and the Beresina, which it was necessary to cross, was full of drift ice, its banks were slippery and impassable, and moreover commanded by Tschitschakow's artillery, whilst the roar of cannon to the rear announced Wittgenstein's approach. Kutusow had this time failed to advance with sufficient rapidity, and Napoleon, the river to his front and enclosed between the Russian armies, owed his escape to the most extraordinary good luck. The *corps d'armée* under Oudinot and Victor, that had been left behind on his

* The following anecdote is related of the Hessians commanded by Prince Emilius of Darmstadt. The prince had fallen asleep in the snow, and four Hessian dragoons, in order to screen him from the north wind, held their cloaks as a wall around him and were found next morning in the same position—frozen to death. Dead bodies were seen frozen into the most extraordinary positions, gnawing their own hands, gnawing the torn corpses of their comrades. The dead were often covered with snow, and the number of little heaps lying around alone told that of the victims of a single night.

† Napoleon said, "There are two hundred millions lying in the cellars of the Tuilleries; how willingly would I give them to save Ney!"

advance upon Moscow, came at the moment of need with fresh troops to his aid. Tschitschakow quitted the bank at the spot where Napoleon intended to make the passage of the Beresina under an idea of the attempt being made at another point. Napoleon instantly threw two bridges across the stream, and all the able-bodied men crossed in safety. At the moment when the bridges, that had several times given way, were choked up by the countless throng bringing up the rear, Wittgenstein appeared and directed his heavy artillery upon the motionless and unarmed crowd. Some regiments, forming the rear-guard, fell, together with all still remaining on the other side of the river, into the hands of the Russians.

The fugitive army was, after this fearful day, relieved, but the temperature again fell to twenty-seven degrees below zero, and the stoutest hearts and frames sank. On the 5th of December, Napoleon, placing himself in a sledge, hurried in advance of his army, nay, preceded the news of his disaster, in order at all events to insure his personal safety and to pass through Germany before measures could be taken for his capture.* His fugitive army shortly afterwards reached Wilna, but was too exhausted to maintain that position. Enormous magazines, several prisoners, and the rest of the booty, besides six million francs in silver money, fell here into the hands of the Russians. Part of the fugitives escaped to Dantzig, but few crossed the Oder; the Saxons under Reynier were routed and dispersed in a last engagement at Calisch; Poniatowsky and the Poles retired to Cracow on the Austrian frontier, as it were, protected by Schwarzenberg, who remained unassailed by the Russians, and whose neutrality was, not long afterwards, formally recognised.

The Prussians, who had been, meanwhile, occupied with

* He passed with extreme rapidity, incognito, through Germany. In Dresden he had a short interview with the king of Saxony, who, had he shut him up at Königstein, would have saved Europe a good deal of trouble.——Napoleon no sooner reached Paris in safety than, in his twenty-ninth bulletin, he, for the first time, acquainted the astonished world, hitherto deceived by his false accounts of victory, with the disastrous termination of the campaign. This bulletin was also replete with falsehood and insolence. In his contempt of humanity he even said, "Merely the cowards in the army were depressed in spirit and *dreamed* of misfortune, the brave were ever cheerful." Thus wrote the man who had both seen and caused all this immeasurable misery! The bulletin concluded with, "His Imperial Majesty never enjoyed better health."

the unsuccessful siege of Riga, and who, like the Austrians, had comparatively husbanded their strength,* were now the only hope of the fugitive French. The troops under Macdonald, accordingly, received orders to cover the retreat of the grand army, but York, instead of obeying, concluded a neutral treaty with the Russians commanded by Diebitsch of Silesia and remained stationary in Eastern Prussia. The king of Prussia, at that time still at Berlin and in the power of the French, publicly† disapproved of the step taken by his general,‡ who was, on the evacuation of Berlin by the French, as publicly rewarded.

The immense army of the conqueror of the world was totally annihilated. Of those who entered Moscow scarcely twenty thousand, of the half million of men who crossed the Russian frontier but eighty thousand, returned.

CCLX. *The spring of* 1813.

THE king of Prussia had suddenly abandoned Berlin, which was still in the hands of the French, for Breslau, whence he

* In the French despatches, General Hünerbein was accused of not having pursued the Russians under General Lewis.

† The secret history of those days is still not sufficiently brought to light. Bignon speaks of fresh treaties between Hardenberg and Napoleon, in which he is corroborated by Fain. These two Frenchmen, the former of whom was a diplomatist, the other one of Napoleon's private secretaries, admit that Prussia's object at that time was to take advantage of Napoleon's embarrassment and to offer him aid on certain important considerations. Prussian historians are silent in this matter. In Von Rauschnik's biographical account of Blücher, the great internal schism at that time caused in Prussia by the Hardenberg party and that of the *Tugendbund* is merely slightly hinted at; the former still managed diplomatic affairs, whilst York, a member of the latter, had already acted on his own responsibility. Shortly afterwards, affairs took a different aspect, as if Hardenberg's diplomacy had merely been a mask, and he placed himself at the head of the movement against France. In a memorial of 1811, given by Hormayr in the Sketches from the War of Liberation, Hardenberg declared decisively in favour of the alliance with Russia against France.

‡ Hans Louis David von York, a native of Pomerania, having ventured, when a lieutenant in the Prussian service, indignantly to blame the base conduct of one of his superiors in command, became implicated in a duel, was confined in a fortress, abandoned his country, entered the Dutch service, visited the Cape and Ceylon, fought against the Mahrattas, was wounded, returned home and re-entered the Prussian service in 1794.

declared war against France. A conference also took place between him and the emperor Alexander at Calisch, and, on the 28th of February, 1813, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between them. The hour for vengeance had at length arrived. The whole Prussian nation, eager to throw off the hated yoke of the foreigner, to obliterate their disgrace in 1806, to regain their ancient name, cheerfully hastened to place their lives and property at the service of the impoverished government. The whole of the able-bodied population was put under arms. The standing army was increased: to each regiment were appended troops of volunteers, *Jægers*, composed of young men belonging to the higher classes, who furnished their own equipments: a numerous *Landwehr*, a sort of militia, was, as in Austria, raised besides the standing army, and measures were even taken to call out, in case of necessity, the heads of families and elderly men remaining at home, under the name of the *Landsturm*.* The enthusiastic people, besides furnishing the customary supplies and paying the taxes, contributed to the full extent of their means towards defraying the immense expense of this general arming. Every heart throbbed high with pride and hope. Who would not wish to have lived at such a period, when man's noblest and highest energies were thus called forth! More loudly than even in 1809 in Austria was the German cause now discussed, the great name of the German empire now invoked in Prussia, for in that name alone could all the races of Germany be united against their hereditary foe. The celebrated proclamation, promising external and internal liberty to Germany, was, with this view, published at Calisch by Prussia and Russia.† Nor was the ap-

* Literally, the general levy of the people.—TRANSLATOR.

† The following proclamation was published at Calisch on the 25th of March, 1813, was signed by Prince Kutusow and drawn up by Baron Rehdiger of Silesia.

"The victorious troops of Russia together with those of his Majesty the king of Prussia having set foot on German soil, the emperor of Russia and his Majesty the king of Prussia announce simultaneously the return of liberty and independence to the princes and nations of Germany. They come with the sole and sacred purpose of aiding them to regain the hereditary and inalienable national rights of which they have been deprived, to afford potent protection and to secure durability to a newly-restored empire. This great object, free from every interested motive and therefore alone worthy of their Majesties, has solely induced

peal vain. It found an echo in every German heart, and such plain demonstrations of the state of the popular feeling on this side the Rhine were made, that Davoust sent serious warning to Napoleon, who contemptuously replied, "Pah! Germans never can become Spaniards!" With his cus-

the advance and solely guides the movements of their armies.——These armies, led by generals under the eyes of both monarchs, trust in an omnipotent, just God, and hope to free the whole world and Germany irrevocably from the disgraceful yoke they have so gloriously thrown off. They press forward animated by enthusiasm. Their watch-word is, Honour and Liberty. May every German, wishful to prove himself worthy of the name, speedily and spiritedly join their ranks: may every individual, whether prince, noble, or citizen, aid the plans of liberation, formed by Russia and Prussia, with heart and soul, with person and property, to the last drop of their blood!——The expectation cherished by their Majesties of meeting with these sentiments, this zeal, in every German heart, they deem warranted by the spirit so clearly betokened by the victories gained by Russia over the enslaver of the world.—— They therefore demand faithful co-operation, more especially from every German prince, and willingly presuppose that none among them will be found, who, by being and remaining apostate to the German cause, will prove himself deserving of annihilation by the power of public opinion and of just arms. The Rhenish alliance, that deceitful chain lately cast by the breeder of universal discord around ruined Germany to the destruction of her ancient name, can, as the effect of foreign tyranny and the tool of foreign influence, be no longer tolerated. Their Majesties believe that the declaration of the dissolution of this alliance being their fixed intention will meet the long-harboured and universal desire with difficulty retained within the sorrowing hearts of the people.——The relation in which it is the intention of his Majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, to stand towards Germany and towards her constitution is, at the same time, here declared. From his desire to see the influence of the foreigner destroyed, it can be no other than that of placing a protecting hand on a work whose form is committed to the free, unbiassed will of the princes and people of Germany. The more closely this work, in its principle, features, and outline, coincides with the once distinct character of the German nation, the more surely will united Germany again retake her place with renovated and redoubled vigour among the empires of Europe.——His Majesty and his ally, between whom there reigns a perfect accordance in the sentiments and views hereby explained, are at all times ready to exert their utmost power in pursuance of their sacred aim, the liberation of Germany from a foreign yoke.——May France, strong and beauteous in herself, henceforward seek to consolidate her internal prosperity! No external power will disturb her internal peace, no enemy will encroach upon her rightful frontiers.——But may France also learn that the other powers of Europe aspire to the attainment of durable repose for their subjects, and will not lay down their arms until the independence of every state in Europe shall have been firmly secured."

tomary rapidity, he levied in France a fresh army three hundred thousand strong, with which he so completely awed the Rhenish confederation as to compel it once more to take the field with thousands of Germans against their brother Germans. The troops, however, reluctantly obeyed, and even the traitors were but lukewarm, for they doubted of success. Mecklenburg alone sided with Prussia. Austria remained neutral.

A Russian corps under General Tettenborn had preceded the rest of the troops and reached the coasts of the Baltic. As early as the 24th of March, 1813, it appeared in Hamburg and expelled the French authorities from the city. The heavily oppressed people of Hamburg,* whose commerce had been totally annihilated by the continental system, gave way to the utmost demonstrations of delight, received their deliverers with open arms, revived their ancient rights, and immediately raised a Hanseatic corps, destined to take the field against Napoleon. Dörnberg, the ancient foe to France, with another flying squadron took the French division under Morand prisoner, and the Prussian, Major Hellwig, (the same who, in 1806, liberated the garrison of Erfurt,) dispersed, with merely one hundred and twenty hussars, a Bavarian regiment one thousand three hundred strong and captured five pieces of artillery. In January, the peasantry of the upper country had already revolted against the conscription,† and, in February, patriotic proclamations had been dissemin-

* The exasperation of the people had risen to the utmost pitch. The French rascals in office, especially the custom-house officers, set no bounds to their tyranny and licence. No woman of whatever rank was allowed to pass the gates without being subjected to the most indecent inquisition. Goods that had long been redeemed were continually taken from the tradesmen's shops and confiscated. The arbitrary enrolment of a number of young men as conscripts at length produced an insurrection, in which the guard-houses, etc. were destroyed. It was, however, quelled by General St. Cyr, and six of the citizens were executed. On the approach of the Russians, St. Cyr fled with the whole of his troops. The bookseller Perthes, Prell, and von Hess, formed a civic guard.—*Von Hess's Agonies.*

† The people rose *en masse* at Ronsdorf, Solingen, and Barmen, and marched tumultuously to Elberfeld, the great manufacturing town, but were dispersed by the French troops. The French authorities afterwards declared that the sole object of the revolt was to smuggle in English goods, and, under this pretext, seized all the foreign goods in Elberfeld.

ated throughout Westphalia under the signature of the Baron von Stein. In this month, also, Captain Maas and two other patriots, who had attempted to raise a rebellion, were executed. As the army advanced, Stein was nominated chief of the provisional government of the still unconquered provinces of Western Germany.

The first Russian army, seventeen thousand strong, under Wittgenstein, pushed forward to Magdeburg, and, at Mökern, repulsed forty thousand French, who were advancing upon Berlin. The Prussians, under their veteran general, Blücher, entered Saxony and garrisoned Dresden, on the 27th of March, 1813, after an arch of the fine bridge across the Elbe having been uselessly blown up by the French. Blücher, whose gallantry in the former wars had gained for him the general esteem, and whose kind and generous disposition had won the affection of the soldiery, was nominated generalissimo of the Prussian forces, but subordinate in command to Wittgenstein, who replaced Kutusow* as generalissimo of the united forces of Russia and Prussia. The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia accompanied the army and were received with loud acclamations by the people of Dresden and Leipzig. The allied army was merely seventy thousand strong, and Blücher had not formed a junction with Wittgenstein, when Napoleon invaded the country by Erfurt and Merseburg at the head of one hundred and sixty thousand men. Ney attacked, with forty thousand men, the Russian vanguard under Winzingerode, which, after gallantly defending a defile near Weissenfels, made an orderly retreat before forces far their superior in number. The French, on this occasion, lost Marshal Bessiéres. Napoleon, incredulous of attack, marched in long columns upon Leipzig, and Wittgenstein, falling upon his right flank, committed great havoc among the forty thousand men under Ney, which he had first of all encountered, at Gross-Görschen. This place was alternately lost and regained owing to his ill-judged plan of attack by single brigades, instead of breaking Napoleon's lines by charging them at once with the whole of his forces. The young Prussian volunteers here measured their strength in a murderous conflict, hand to hand, with the young French conscripts, and excited by their martial spirit

* Kutusow had, just at that conjuncture, expired at Bautzen.

the astonishment of the veterans. Wittgenstein's delay and Blücher's too late arrival on the field* gave Napoleon time to wheel his long lines round and to encircle the allied forces, which immediately retired. On the eve of the bloody engagement of the 2nd of May, the allied cavalry attempted a general attack in the dark, which was also unsuccessful on account of the superiority of the enemies' forces. The allies had, nevertheless, captured some cannons, the French, none. The most painful loss was that of the noble Scharnhorst, who was mortally wounded. Bülow had, on the same day, stormed Halle with a Prussian corps, but was now compelled to resolve upon a retreat, which was conducted in the most orderly manner by the allies. At Koldiz, the Prussian rear-guard repulsed the French van in a bloody engagement on the 5th of May. The allies marched through Dresden† and took up a firm position in and about Bautzen after being joined by a reinforcement of eighty thousand Bavarians. Napoleon was also reinforced by a number of French, Bavarian, Würtemberg, and Saxon troops,‡ and despatched Lauriston and Ney towards Berlin; but the former encountering the Russians under Barclay de Tolly at Königswartha, and the latter the Prussians under York at Weissig, both were constrained to retreat. Napoleon attacked the position at Bautzen from the 19th to the 21st of May, but was gloriously repulsed by the Prussians under Kleist, whilst Blücher, who was in danger of being completely surrounded, undauntedly defended him-

* The nature of the ground rendered a night march impossible. The Russian, Michaelofski Danilefski, however, throws the blame upon an officer in Blücher's head-quarters, who laid the important orders committed to his charge under his pillow and overslept himself.

† It may here be mentioned as a remarkable characteristic of those times, that Gœthe, Ernest Maurice Arndt, and Theodore Körner at that period met at Dresden. The youthful Körner, a volunteer Jæger, was the Tyrtæus of those days: his military songs were universally sung; his father also expressed great enthusiasm. Gœthe said almost angrily, "Well, well, shake your chains, the man (Napoleon) is too strong for you, you will not break them!"—*E. M. Arndt's Reminiscences.*

‡ "Unfortunately there were German princes who, even this time, again sent their troops to swell the ranks of the oppressor; Austria had, unfortunately, not yet concluded her preparations; consequently, it was only possible to clog the advance of the conqueror by a gallant resistance.—*Clausewitz.* The Bavarians stood under Raglowich, the Würtembergers under Franquemont, the Saxons under Reynier. There was also a contingent of Westphalians and Badeners.

self on three sides. The allies lost not a cannon, not a single prisoner, although again compelled to retire before the superior forces of the enemy. The French had suffered an immense loss; eighteen thousand of their wounded were sent to Dresden. Napoleon's favourite, Marshal Duroc, and General Kirchner, a native of Alsace, were killed, close to his side, by a cannon ball. The allied troops, forced to retire after an obstinate encounter, neither fled nor dispersed, but withdrew in close column and repelling each successive attack.* The French avant-garde under Maison was, when in close pursuit of the allied force, almost entirely cut to pieces by the Prussian cavalry, who unexpectedly fell upon them at Heinau. The main body of the Russo-Prussian army, on entering Silesia, took a slanting direction towards the Riesengebirge and retired behind the fortress of Schweidnitz. In this strong position they were at once partially secure from attack, and, by their vicinity to the Bohemian frontier, enabled to keep up a communication, and, if necessary, to form a junction with the Austrian forces. The whole of the lowlands of Silesia lay open to the French, who entered Breslau on the 1st of June.† Berlin was also merely covered by a comparatively weak army under General Bülow,‡ who, notwithstanding the check given by him to Marshal Oudinot in the battles of Hoyerswerda and Luckau, was not in sufficient force to offer assistance to the main body of the French in case Napoleon chose to pass through Berlin on his way to Poland. Na-

* Blücher exclaimed on this occasion, "He 's a rascally fellow that dares to say we fly." Even Fain, the Frenchman, confesses in his manuscript of 1813, in which he certainly does not favour the Germans: "The best Marshals, as it were, killed by spent balls. Great victories without trophies. All the villages on our route in flames which obstructed our advance. 'What a war! We shall all fall victims to it!' are the disgraceful expressions uttered by many, for the iron hearts of the warriors of France are rust-grown." Napoleon exclaimed after the battle, "How! no result after such a massacre? No prisoners? They leave me not even a nail!" Duroc's death added to the catastrophe. Napoleon was so struck that for the first time in his life he could give no orders, but deferred every thing until the morrow.

† But they merely encamped in the streets, showed themselves more anxious than threatening, and were seized with a terrible panic on a sudden conflagration breaking out during the night, which they mistook for a signal to bring the *Landsturm* upon them. And yet there were thirty thousand French in the city. How different to their spirit in 1807!

‡ Brother to the unfortunate Henry von Bülow.

poleon, however, did not as yet venture to make use of his advantage. By the seizure of Prussia and Poland, both of which lay open to him, the main body of the allied army and the Austrians, who had not yet declared themselves, would have been left to the rear of his right flank and could easily have cut off his retreat. His troops, principally young conscripts, were moreover worn out with fatigue, nor had the whole of his reinforcements arrived. To his rear was a multitude of bold partisans, Tettenborn, the Hanseatic legion, Czernitscheff, who, at Halberstadt, captured General Ochs together with the whole of the Westphalian corps and fourteen pieces of artillery, Colomb, the Herculean captain of horse, who took a convoy and twenty-four guns at Zwickau, and the Black Prussian squadron under Lützow. Napoleon consequently remained stationary, and, with a view of completing his preparations and of awaiting the decision of Austria, demanded an armistice, to which the allies, whose force was still incomplete and to whom the decision of Austria was of equal importance, gladly assented.

On this celebrated armistice, concluded on the 4th of June, 1813, at the village of Pleisswitz, the fate of Europe was to depend. To the side that could raise the most powerful force, that on which Austria ranged herself, numerical superiority insured success. Napoleon's power was still terrible; fresh victory had obliterated the disgrace of his flight from Russia; he stood once more an invincible leader on German soil. The French were animated by success and blindly devoted to their emperor. Italy and Denmark were prostrate at his feet. The Rhenish confederation was also faithful to his standard. Counsellor Crome published at Giessen, in obedience to Napoleon's mandate and with the knowledge of the government at Darmstadt, a pamphlet entitled "Germany's Crisis and Salvation," in which he declared that Germany was saved by the fresh victories of Napoleon, and promised mountains of gold to the Germans if they remained true to him.* Crome was

* Crome was afterwards barefaced enough to boast of this work in his Autobiography, published in 1833. Napoleon dictated the fundamental ideas of this work to him from his head-quarters. His object was to pacify the Germans. He promised them henceforward to desist from enforcing his continental system, to restore liberty to commerce, no longer to force the laws and language of France upon Germany. L'empereur se fera aimer des Allemands. The Germans were, on the other

at that time graciously thanked in autograph letters by the sovereigns of Bavaria and Würtemberg. Lützow's volunteer corps was, during the armistice, surprised at Kitzen by a superior corps of Würtembergers under Normann and cut to pieces. Germans at that period opposed Germans without any feeling for their common fatherland.* The king of Saxony, who had already repaired to Prague under the protection of Austria, also returned thence, was received at Dresden with extreme magnificence by Napoleon, and, in fresh token of amity, ceded the fortress of Torgau to the French.† These occurrences caused the Saxon minister, Senfft von Pilsach, and the Saxon general, Thielmann, who had already devoted themselves to the German cause, to resign office. The Polish army under Prince Poniatowsky (vassal to the king of Saxony, who was also grand-duke of Warsaw) received permission (it had at an earlier period fallen back upon Schwarzenberg) to march, unarmed, through the Austrian territory to Dresden, in order to join the main body of the French under Napoleon. The declaration of the emperor of Austria in favour of his son-in-law, who, moreover, was lavish of his promises, and, among other things, offered to restore Silesia, was, consequently, at the opening of the armistice, deemed certain.

The armistice was, meanwhile, still more beneficial to the allies. The Russians had time to concentrate their scattered troops, the Prussians completed the equipment of their numerous *Landwehren*, and the Swedes also took the field. Bernadotte landed on the 18th of May in Pomerania, and advanced with his troops into Brandenburg for the purpose, in conjunction with Bülow, of covering Berlin. A German

hand, warned that the allies had no intention to render Germany free and independent, they being much more interested in retaining Germany in a state of division and subjection. The unity of Germany, it was also declared, was alone possible under Napoleon, etc.

* This arose from hatred to the party that dared to uphold the German cause instead of a Prussian, Saxon, etc. one, and by no means by chance, but, as Manso remarks, intentionally, "through low cunning and injustice."

† The king of Saxony was, in return, insulted by Napoleon, in an address to the ministers termed *une veille hête*, and compelled to countenance immoral theatrical performances by his presence, a sin for which he each evening received absolution from his confessor. Vide Stein's Letter to Münster in the Sketches of the War of Liberation.

auxiliary corps, in the pay of England, was also formed, under Wallmoden, on the Baltic. The defence of Hamburg was extremely easy; but the base intrigues of foreigners, who, as during the time of the thirty years' war, paid themselves for their aid by the seizure of German provinces and towns, delivered that splendid city into the hands of the French. Bernadotte had sold himself to Russia for the price of Norway, which Denmark refused to cede unless Hamburg and Lübeck were given in exchange. This agreement had already been made by Prince Dolgorucki in the name of the emperor Alexander, and Tettenborn yielded Hamburg to the Danes, who marched in under pretext of protecting the city and were received with delight by the unsuspecting citizens. The non-advance of the Swedes proceeded from the same cause. The increase of the Danish marine by means of the Hanse-towns, however, proved displeasing to England: the whole of the commerce was broken up, and the Danes, hastily resolving to maintain faith with Napoleon, delivered luckless Hamburg to the French, who instantly took a most terrible revenge. Davoust, as he himself boasted, merely sent twelve German patriots to execution,* but expelled twenty-five thousand of the inhabitants from the city, whilst he pulled down their houses and converted them into fortifications, at which the principal citizens were compelled to work in person. Dissatisfied, moreover, with a contribution of eighteen millions, he robbed the great Hamburg bank, treading under-foot every private and national right, all, as he, miserable slave as he was,† declared, in obedience to the mandate of his lord.

Austria, at first, instead of aiding the allies, allowed the Poles‡ to range themselves beneath the standard of Napoleon, whom she overwhelmed with protestations of friendship,

* He also said, like his master, "I know of no Germans, I only know of Bavarians, Würtembergers, Westphalians, etc."

† His written defence, in which he so lyingly, so humbly and mournfully exculpates himself that one really "compassionates the devil," is a sort of satisfaction for the Germans.

‡ Poniatowsky's dismissal with the Polish army from Poland was apparently a service rendered to Napoleon, but was in reality done with a view of disarming Poland. Poniatowsky might have organized an insurrection to the rear of the allies, and would in that case have been far more dangerous to them than when ranged beneath the standard of Napoleon.

which served to mask her real intentions, and meanwhile gave her time to arm herself to the teeth and to make the allies sensible of the fact of their utter impotency against Napoleon unless aided by her. The interests of Austria favoured her alliance with France, but Napoleon, instead of confidence, inspired mistrust. Austria, notwithstanding the marriage between him and Marie Louise, was, as had been shown at the congress of Dresden, merely treated as a tributary to France, and Napoleon's ambition offered no guarantee to the ancient imperial dynasty. There was no security that the provinces bestowed in momentary reward for her alliance must not, on the first occasion, be restored. Nor was public opinion entirely without weight.* Napoleon's star was on the wane, whole nations stood like to a dark and ominous cloud threatening on the horizon, and Count Metternich prudently chose rather to attempt to guide the storm ere it burst than trust to a falling star. Austria had, as early as the 27th of June, 1813, signed a treaty, at Reichenbach in Silesia, with Russia and Prussia, by which she bound herself to declare war against France, in case Napoleon had not, before the 20th of July, accepted the terms of peace about to be proposed to him. Already had the sovereigns and generals of Russia and Prussia sketched, during a conference held with the crown-prince of Sweden, the 11th July, at Trachenberg, the plan for the approaching campaign, and, with the permission of Austria, assigned to her

* The people in Austria fully sympathized with passing events. How could those be apathetic who had such a burthen of disgrace to redeem, such deep revenge to satisfy? An extremely popular song contained the following lines:

"Awake, Franciscus! Hark! thy people call!
Awake! acknowledge the avenger's hand!
Still groans beneath the foreign courser's hoof
The soil of Germany, our fatherland.

To arms! so long as sacred Germany
Feels but a finger of Napoleon.
Franciscus! up! Cast off each private tie!
The patriot has no kindred, has no son."

All the able-bodied men, as in Prussia, crowded beneath the imperial standard and the whole empire made the most patriotic sacrifices. Hungary summoned the whole of her male population, the insurrection, as it was termed, to the field.

the part she was to take as one of the allies against Napoleon, when Metternich again visited Dresden in person for the purpose of repeating his assurances of amity, for the armistice had but just commenced, to Napoleon. The French emperor had an indistinct knowledge of the transactions then passing, and bluntly said to the Count, "As you wish to mediate, you are no longer on my side." He hoped partly to win Austria over by redoubling his promises, partly to terrify her by the dread of the future preponderance of Russia, but, perceiving how Metternich evaded him by his artful diplomacy, he suddenly asked him, "Well, Metternich, how much has England given you in order to engage you to play this part towards me?" This trait of insolence towards an antagonist of whose superiority he felt conscious, and of masking the most deadly hatred beneath a show of contempt, was peculiarly charisteristic of the Corsican, who, besides the qualities of the lion, fully possessed those of the cat. Napoleon let his hat drop in order to see whether Metternich would raise it. He did not, and war was resolved upon. A pretended congress for the conclusion of peace was again arranged by both sides; by Napoleon, in order to escape the reproach cast upon him of an insurmountable and eternal desire for war, and by the allies, in order to prove to the whole world their desire for peace. Each side was, however, fully aware that the palm of peace was alone to be found on the other side of the battle-field. Napoleon was generous in his concessions, but delayed to grant full powers to his envoy, an opportune circumstance for the allies, who were by this means able to charge him with the whole blame of procrastination. Napoleon, in all his concessions, merely included Russia and Austria to the exclusion of Prussia.* But neither Russia nor Austria trusted to his promises, and the negotiations were broken off on the termination of the armistice; when Napoleon sent full powers to his plenipotentiary. Now, was it said, it is too late. The art with which Metternich passed from the alliance with Napoleon to neu-

* Russia was to receive the whole of Poland, the grand-duchy of Warsaw was to be annihilated. Such was Napoleon's gratitude towards the Poles!—Illyria was to be restored to Austria. Prussia, however, was not only to be excluded from all participation in the spoil, but the Rhenish confederation was to be extended as far as the Oder. Prussia would have been compelled to pay the expenses of the alliance between France, Russia, and Austria.

trality, to mediation, and finally to the coalition against him, will, in every age, be acknowledged a master-piece of diplomacy. Austria, whilst coalescing with Russia and Prussia, in a certain degree assumed a rank conventionally superior to both. The whole of the allied armies was placed under the command of an Austrian general, Prince von Schwarzenberg, and if the proclamation published at Calisch had merely summoned the people of Germany to assert their independence, the manifesto of Count Metternich spoke already in the tone of the future regulator of the affairs of Europe.* Austria declared herself on the 12th of August, 1813, two days after the termination of the armistice.

CCLXI. *The battle of Leipzig.*

IMMEDIATELY after this—for all had been previously arranged—the monarchs of Russia and Prussia passed the Riesengebirge with a division of their forces into Bohemia, and joined the emperor Francis and the great Austrian army at Prague. The celebrated general, Moreau, who had returned from America, where he had hitherto dwelt incognito, in order to take up arms against Napoleon, was in the train of the czar. His example, it was hoped, would induce many of his countrymen to abandon Napoleon. The plan of the allies was to advance, with their main body under Schwarzenberg, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand Austrians and seventy thousand Russians and Prussians, through the Erzgebirge to Napoleon's rear. A lesser Prussian force, principally Silesian *Landwehr*, under Blücher, eighty thousand strong, besides a small Russian corps, was, meanwhile, to cover Silesia, or, in case of an attack by Napoleon's main body, to

* "Every where," said this manifesto, "do the impatient wishes of the people anticipate the regular proceedings of the government. On all sides, the desire for independence under separate laws, the feeling of insulted nationality, rage against the heavy abuses inflicted by a foreign tyrant burst simultaneously forth. His Majesty the emperor, too clear-sighted not to view this turn in affairs as the natural and necessary result of a preceding and violent state of exaggeration, and too just to view it with displeasure, had rendered it his principal object to turn it to the general advantage, and, by well-weighed and well-combined measures, to promote the true and lasting interests of the whole commonwealth of Europe."

retire before it and draw it further eastward. A third division, under the crown-prince of Sweden, principally Swedes, with some Prussian troops, mostly Pomeranian and Brandenburg *Landwehr* under Bülow, and some Russians, in all ninety thousand men, was destined to cover Berlin, and in case of a victory to form a junction to Napoleon's rear with the main body of the allied army. A still lesser and equally mixed division under Wallmoden, thirty thousand strong, was destined to watch Davoust in Hamburg, whilst an Austrian corps of twenty-five thousand men under Prince Reuss watched the movements of the Bavarians, and another Austrian force of forty thousand, under Hiller, those of the viceroy Eugene in Italy.

Napoleon had concentrated his main body, that still consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand men, in and around Dresden. Davoust received orders to advance with thirty thousand men from Hamburg upon Berlin; in Bavaria, there were thirty thousand men under Wrede; in Italy, forty thousand under Eugene. The German fortresses were, moreover, strongly garrisoned with French troops. Napoleon had it in his power to throw himself with his main body, which neither Blücher nor the Swedes could have withstood, into Poland, to levy the people *en masse* and render that country the theatre of war, but the dread of the defection of the Rhenish confederation and of a part of the French themselves, were the country to his rear to be left open to the allies and to Moreau, coupled with his disinclination to declare the independence of Poland, owing to a lingering hope of being still able to bring about a reconciliation with Russia and Austria by the sacrifice of that country and of Prussia, caused that idea to be renounced, and he accordingly took up a defensive position with his main body at Dresden, whence he could watch the proceedings and take advantage of any indiscretion on the part of his opponents. A body of ninety thousand men under Oudinot meantime acted on the offensive, being directed to advance, simultaneously with Davoust from Hamburg and with Girard from Magdeburg, upon Berlin, and to take possession of that metropolis. Napoleon hoped, when master of the ancient Prussian provinces, to be able to suppress German enthusiasm at its source and to induce Russia

and Austria to conclude a separate peace at the expense of Prussia.

In August, 1813, the tempest of war broke loose on every side, and all Europe prepared for a decisive struggle. About this time, the whole of Northern Germany was visited for some weeks, as was the case on the defeat of Varus in the Teutoburg forest, with heavy rains and violent storms. The elements seemed to combine, as in Russia, their efforts with those of man against Napoleon. There his soldiers fell victims to frost and snow, here they sank into the boggy soil and were carried away by the swollen rivers. In the midst of the uproar of the elements, bloody engagements continually took place, in which the bayonet and the butt-end of the fire-lock were almost alone used, the muskets being rendered unserviceable by the wet. The first engagement of importance was that of the 21st of August between Wallmoden and Davoust at Vellahn. A few days afterwards, Theodore Körner, the youthful poet and hero, fell in a skirmish between the French and Wallmoden's outpost at Gadebusch.—— Oudinot advanced close upon Berlin, which was protected by the crown-prince of Sweden. A murderous conflict took place, on the 23rd of August, at Gross-Beeren between the Prussian division under General von Bülow and the French. The Swedes, a troop of horse artillery alone excepted, were not brought into action, and the Prussians, unaided, repulsed the greatly superior forces of the French. The almost untrained peasantry comprising the *Landwehr* of the Mark and of Pomerania rushed upon the enemy, and, unhabituated to the use of the bayonet and the fire-lock, beat down entire battalions of the French with the butt-end of their muskets. After a frightful massacre, the French were utterly routed and fled in wild disorder, but the gallant Prussians vainly expected the Swedes to aid in the pursuit. The crown-prince, partly from a desire to spare his troops and partly from a feeling of shame, he was also a Frenchman, remained motionless. Oudinot, nevertheless, lost two thousand four hundred prisoners. Davoust, from this disaster, returned once more to Hamburg. Girard, who had advanced with eight thousand men from Magdeburg, was, on the 27th, put to flight by the Prussian *Landwehr* under General Hirschfeld.

Napoleon's plan of attack against Prussia had completely

failed, and his sole alternative was to act on the defensive. But on perceiving that the main body of the allied forces under Schwarzenberg was advancing to his rear, whilst Blücher was stationed with merely a weak division in Silesia, he took the field with immensely superior forces against the latter under an idea of being able easily to vanquish his weak antagonist and to fall back again in time upon Dresden. Blücher cautiously retired, but, unable to restrain the martial spirit of the soldiery, who obstinately defended every position whence they were driven, lost two thousand of his men on the 21st of August. The news of Napoleon's advance upon Silesia and of the numerical weakness of the garrison left at Dresden reached Schwarzenberg just as he had crossed the Erzgebirge, and induced him and the allied sovereigns assembled within his camp to change their plan of operations and to march straight upon the Saxon capital. Napoleon, who had pursued Blücher as far as the Katzbach near Goldberg, instantly returned and boldly resolved to cross the Elbe above Dresden, to seize the passes of the Bohemian mountains, and to fall upon the rear of the main body of the allied army. Vandamme's *corps d'armée* had already set forward with this design, when Napoleon learnt that Dresden could no longer hold out unless he returned thither with a division of his army, and, in order to preserve that city and the centre of his position, he hastily returned thither in the hope of defeating the allied army and of bringing it between two fires, as Vandamme must meanwhile have occupied the narrow outlets of the Erzgebirge with thirty thousand men and by that means have cut off the retreat of the allied army. The plan was on a grand scale, and, as far as related to Napoleon in person, was executed, to the extreme discomfiture of the allies, with his usual success. Schwarzenberg had, with true Austrian procrastination, allowed the 25th of August, when, as the French themselves confess, Dresden, in her then ill-defended state, might have been taken almost without a stroke, to pass in inaction, and, when he attempted to storm the city on the 26th, Napoleon, who had meanwhile arrived, calmly awaited the onset of the thick masses of the enemy in order to open a murderous discharge of grape upon them on every side. They were repulsed after suffering a frightful loss. On the following day, destined to end in still more terrible bloodshed, Na-

poleon assumed the offensive, separated the retiring allied army by well-combined sallies, cut off its left wing, and made an immense number of prisoners, chiefly Austrians. The unfortunate Moreau had both his legs shot off in the very first encounter. His death was an act of justice, for he had taken up arms against his fellow-countrymen, and was moreover a gain for the Germans, the Russians merely making use of him in order to obscure the fame of the German leaders, and, it may be, with a view of placing the future destinies of France in his hands. The main body of the allied army retreated on every side; part of the troops disbanded, the rest were exposed to extreme hardship owing to the torrents of rain that fell without intermission and the scarcity of provisions. Their annihilation must have inevitably followed had Vandamme executed Napoleon's commands and blocked up the mountain passes, in which he was unsuccessful, owing to the gallantry with which he was held in check at Culm by eight thousand Russian guards, headed by Ostermann,* who, although merely amounting in number to a fourth of his army, fought during a whole day without receding a step, though almost the whole of them were cut to pieces and Ostermann was deprived of an arm, until the first corps of the main body, in full retreat, reached the mountains. Vandamme was now in turn overwhelmed by superior numbers. One way of escape, a still unoccupied height, on which he hastened to post himself, alone remained, but the shining arms of Kleist's corps, also in full retreat, unexpectedly but opportunely appeared above his head and took him and the whole of his corps prisoners, the 29th of August, 1813.†

At the same time, the 26th of August, a most glorious victory was gained by Blücher in Silesia. After having drawn Macdonald across the Katzbach and the foaming Neisse, he drove him, after a desperate and bloody engagement, into those rivers, which were greatly swollen by the incessant rains. The muskets of the soldiery had been rendered unserviceable

* This general belonged to a German family long naturalized in Russia.

† He was led through Silesia, which he had once so shamefully plundered, and, although no physical punishment was inflicted upon him, he was often compelled to hear the voice of public opinion and was exposed to the view of the people to whom he had once said, "Nothing shall be left to you except your eyes, that you may weep over your wretchedness."—*Mansô's History of Prussia.*

by the wet, and Blücher, drawing his sabre from beneath his cloak, dashed forward exclaiming, "Forwards!" Several thousand of the French were drowned or fell by the bayonet, or beneath the heavy blows dealt by the *Landwehr* with the butt-end of their firelocks. It was on this battle-field that the Silesians had formerly opposed the Tartars, and the monastery of Wahlstatt, erected in memory of that heroic day,* was still standing. Blücher was rewarded with the title of Prince von der Wahlstatt, but his soldiers surnamed him Marshal Vorwärts. On the declension of the floods, the banks of the rivers were strewed with corpses sticking in horrid distortion out of the mud. A part of the French fled for a couple of days in terrible disorder along the right bank and were then taken prisoner together with their general, Puthod.† The French lost one hundred and three guns, eighteen thousand prisoners, and a still greater number of dead; the loss on the side of the Prussians merely amounted to one thousand men. Macdonald returned almost totally unattended to Dresden and brought the melancholy intelligence to Napoleon, "Votre armée du Bobre n'existe plus."

The crown-prince of Sweden and Bülow had meanwhile pursued Oudinot's retreating corps in the direction of the Elbe. Napoleon despatched Ney against them, but he met with the fate of his predecessor, at Dennewitz, on the 6th of September. The Prussians, on this occasion, again triumphed, unaided by their confederates.‡ Bülow and Tauenzien, with twenty thousand men, defeated the French army, seventy thousand strong. The crown-prince of Sweden not only remained to the rear with the whole of his troops, but gave perfectly useless orders to the advancing Prussian

* An ancient battle-axe of serpentine-stone was found on the site fixed upon for the erection of a fresh monument in honour of the present victory.—*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1817.

† This piece of good fortune befell Langeron, the Russian general, who belonged to the diplomatic party at that time attempting to spare the forces of Russia, Austria, and Sweden at the expense of Prussia, and, at the same time, to deprive Prussia of her well-won laurels. Langeron had not obeyed Blücher's orders, had remained behind on his own responsibility, and the scattered French troops fell into his hands.

‡ The proud armies of Russia and Sweden (forty-six battalions, forty squadrons, and one hundred and fifty guns) followed to the rear of the Prussians without firing a shot and remained inactive spectators of the action.—*Plotho.*

squadron under General Borstel, who, without attending to them, hurried on to Bulow's assistance, and the French were, notwithstanding their numerical superiority, completely driven off the field, which the crown-prince reached just in time in order to witness the dispersion of his countrymen. The French lost eighteen thousand men and eighty guns. The rout was complete. The rear-guard, consisting of the Würtembergers under Franquemont, was again overtaken at the head of the bridge at Zwettau, and, after a frightful carnage, driven in wild confusion across the dam to Torgau. The Bavarians under Raglowich, who, probably owing to secret orders, had remained, during the battle, almost in a state of inactivity, withdrew in another direction and escaped.* Davoust also again retired upon Hamburg, and his rear-guard under Pecheux was attacked by Wallmoden, on the 16th of September, on the Görde, and suffered a trifling loss. On the 29th of September, eight thousand French were also defeated by Platow, the Hetman of the Cossacks, at Zeitz: on the 30th, Czernitscheff penetrated into Cassel and expelled Jerome. Thielemann, the Saxon general, also infested the country to Napoleon's rear, intercepted his convoys at Leipzig, and at Weissenfels took one thousand two hundred, at Merseburg two thousand French prisoner; he was, however, deprived of his booty by a strong force under Lefebvre-Desnouettes, by whom he was incessantly harassed until Platow's arrival with the Cossacks, who, in conjunction with Thielemann, repulsed Lefebvre with great slaughter at Altenburg. On this occasion, a Baden battalion, that had been drawn up apart from the French, turned their fire upon their unnatural confederates and aided in their dispersion.†

Napoleon's generals had been thrown back in every quarter, with immense loss, upon Dresden, towards which the allies now advanced, threatening to enclose it on every side. Napoleon manœuvred until the beginning of October with the view of executing a *coup de main* against Schwarzenberg and Blücher; the allies were, however, on their guard, and he was constantly reduced to the necessity of recalling his

* In order to avoid being carried along by the fugitive French, they fired upon them whenever their confused masses came too close upon them.—*Bölderndorf.*

† Vide Wagner's Chronicle of Altenburg.

troops, sent for that purpose into the field, to Dresden. The danger in which he now stood of being completely surrounded and cut off from the Rhine at length rendered retreat his sole alternative. Blücher had already crossed the Elbe on the 5th of October, and, in conjunction with the crown-prince of Sweden, had approached the head of the main body of the allied army under Schwarzenberg, which was advancing from the Erzgebirge. On the 7th of October, Napoleon quitted Dresden, leaving a garrison of thirty thousand French under St. Cyr, and removed his head-quarters to Düben, on the road leading from Leipzig to Berlin, in the hope of drawing Blücher and the Swedes once more on the right side of the Elbe, in which case he intended to turn unexpectedly upon the Austrians; Blücher, however, eluded him, without quitting the left bank. Napoleon's plan was to take advantage of the absence of Blücher and of the Swedes from Berlin in order to hasten across the undefended country for the purpose of inflicting punishment upon Prussia, of raising Poland, etc. But his plan met with opposition in his own military council. His ill success had caused those who had hitherto followed his fortunes to waver. The king of Bavaria declared against him on the 8th of October,* and the

* Maximilian Joseph declared in an open manifesto; Bavaria was compelled to furnish thirty-eight thousand men for the Russian campaign, and, on her expressing a hope that such an immense sacrifice would not be requested, France instantly declared the princes of the Rhenish confederation her vassals, who were commanded "under punishment of felony" unconditionally to obey each of Napoleon's demands. The allies would, on the contrary, have acceded to all the desires of Bavaria and have guaranteed that kingdom. Even the Austrian troops, that stood opposed to Bavaria, were placed under Wrede's command.——Raglowich received permission from Napoleon, before the battle of Leipzig, to return to Bavaria; but his corps was retained in the vicinity of Leipzig without taking part in the action, and retired, in the general confusion, under the command of General Maillot, upon Torgau, whence it returned home.—*Bölderndorf.*——In the Tyrol, the brave mountaineers were on the eve of revolt. As early as September, Speckbacher, sick and wasted from his wounds, but endued with all his former fire and energy, reappeared in the Tyrol, where he was commissioned by Austria to organize a revolt. An unexpected reconciliation, however, taking place between Bavaria and Austria, counter-orders arrived, and Speckbacher furiously dashed his bullet-worn hat to the ground.—*Brockhaus*, 1814. The restoration of the Tyrol to Austria being delayed, a multitude of Tyrolese forced their way into Innsbruck and deposed the Bavarian authorities; their leader, Kluibenspedel, was, however, persuaded by Austria to submit. Speck-

Bavarian army under Wrede united with instead of opposing the Austrian army and was sent to the Maine in order to cut off Napoleon's retreat. The news of this defection speedily reached the French camp and caused the rest of the troops of the Rhenish confederation to waver in their allegiance; whilst the French, wearied with useless manœuvres, beaten in every quarter, opposed by an enemy greatly their superior in number and glowing with revenge, despaired of the event and sighed for peace and their peaceful homes. All refused to march upon Berlin, nay, the very idea of removing farther from Paris almost produced a mutiny in the camp.*** Four days, from the 11th to the 14th of October, were passed by Napoleon in a state of melancholy irresolution, when he appeared as if suddenly inspired by the idea of there still being time to execute a *coup de main* upon the main body of the allied army under Schwarzenberg before its junction with Blücher and the Swedes. Schwarzenberg was slowly advancing from Bohemia and had already allowed himself to be defeated before Dresden. Napoleon intended to fall upon him on his arrival in the vicinity of Leipzig, but it was already too late.——Blücher was at hand. On the 14th of October,† the flower of the French cavalry, headed by the king of Naples, encountered Blücher's and Wittgenstein's cavalry at Wachau, not far from Leipzig. The contest was broken off, both sides being desirous of husbanding their strength, but terminated to the disadvantage of the French, notwithstanding their numerical superiority, besides proving the vicinity of the Prussians. This was the most important cavalry fight that took place during this war.

On the 16th of October, whilst Napoleon was merely awaiting the arrival of Macdonald's corps that had remained

bacher was, in 1816, raised by the emperor Francis to the rank of major; he died in 1820, and was buried at Hall by the south wall of the parish church. His son, Andre, who grew up a fine, handsome man, died in 1835, at Jenbach, (not Zenbach, as Mercy has it in his attacks upon the Tyrol,) in the Tyrol, where he was employed as superintendant of the mines. Mercy's Travels and his account of Speckbacher in the Milan Revista Europea, 1838, are replete with falsehood.

* According to Fain and Coulaincourt.

† On the evening of the 14th of October, (the anniversary of the battle of Jena,) a hurricane raged in the neighbourhood of Leipzig, where the French lay, carried away roofs and uprooted trees, whilst, during the whole night, the rain fell in violent floods.

behind, before proceeding to attack Schwarzenberg's Bohemian army, he was unexpectedly attacked on the right bank of the Pleisse, at Liebert-wolkwitz, by the Austrians, who were, however, compelled to retire before a superior force. The French cavalry under Latour-Maubourg pressed so closely upon the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia that they merely owed their escape to the gallantry of the Russian, Orlow Denisow, and to Latour's fall. Napoleon had already ordered all the bells in Leipzig to be rung, had sent the news of his victory to Paris, and seems to have expected a complete triumph when joyfully exclaiming, "Le monde tourne pour nous!" but his victory had been only partial, and he had been unable to follow up his advantage, another division of the Austrian army, under General Meerveldt, having simultaneously occupied him and compelled him to cross the Pleisse at Dölnitz; and, although Meerveldt had been in his turn repulsed with severe loss and been himself taken prisoner, the diversion proved of service to the Austrians by keeping Napoleon in check until the arrival of Blücher, who threw himself upon the division of the French army opposed to him at Möckern by Marshal Marmont. Napoleon, whilst thus occupied with the Austrians, was unable to meet the attack of the Prussians with sufficient force. Marmont, after a massacre of some hours' duration in and around Möckern, was compelled to retire with a loss of forty guns. The second Prussian brigade lost, either in killed or wounded, all its officers except one.

The battle had, on the 16th of October, raged around Leipzig; Napoleon had triumphed over the Austrians, whom he had solely intended to attack, but had, at the same time, been attacked and defeated by the Prussians, and now found himself opposed and almost surrounded, one road for retreat alone remaining open, by the whole allied force. He instantly gave orders to General Bertrand to occupy Weissenfels during the night, in order to secure his retreat through Thuringia; but, during the following day, the 17th of October, neither seized that opportunity in order to effect a retreat or to make a last and energetic attack upon the allies, whose forces were not yet completely concentrated, ere the circle had been fully drawn around him. The Swedes, the Russians under Bennigsen, and a large Austrian division under Colloredo, had not yet arrived. Napoleon might with advantage have again attacked

the defeated Austrians under Schwarzenberg or have thrown himself with the whole of his forces upon Blücher. He had still an opportunity of making an orderly retreat without any great exposure to danger. But he did neither. He remained motionless during the whole day, which was also passed in tranquillity by the allies, who thus gained time to receive fresh reinforcements. Napoleon's inactivity was caused by his having sent his prisoner, General Meerveldt, to the emperor of Austria, whom he still hoped to induce, by means of great assurances, to secede from the coalition and to make peace. Not even a reply was vouchsafed. On the very day, thus futilely lost by Napoleon, the allied army was reintegrated by the arrival of the masses commanded by the crown-prince, by Bennigsen and Colloredo, and was consequently raised to double the strength of that of France, which now merely amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men. On the 18th, a murderous conflict began on both sides. Napoleon long and skilfully opposed the fierce onset of the allied troops, but was at length driven off the field by their superior weight and persevering efforts. The Austrians, stationed on the left wing of the allied army, were opposed by Oudinot, Augereau, and Poniatowsky; the Prussians, stationed on the right wing, by Marmont and Ney; the Russians and Swedes in the centre, by Murat and Regnier. In the hottest of the battle, two Saxon cavalry regiments went over to Blücher, and General Normann, when about to be charged at Taucha by the Prussian cavalry under Bülow, also deserted to him with two Würtemberg cavalry regiments, in order to avoid an unpleasant reminiscence of the treacherous ill-treatment of Lützow's corps. The whole of the Saxon infantry commanded by Regnier shortly afterwards went, with thirty-eight guns, over to the Swedes, five hundred men and General Zeschau alone remaining true to Napoleon. The Saxons stationed themselves behind the lines of the allies, but their guns were instantly turned upon the enemy.*

* Not so the Badeners and Hessians. The Baden corps was captured almost to a man; among others, Prince Emilius of Darmstadt. Baden had been governed, since the death of the popular grand-duke, Charles Frederick, in 1811, by his grandson, Charles.——Franquemont, with the Würtemberg infantry, eight to nine thousand strong, acted independently of Normann's cavalry. But one thousand of their number

In the evening of this terrible day, the French were driven back close upon the walls of Leipzig.* On the certainty of victory being announced by Schwarzenberg to the three monarchs, who had watched the progress of the battle, they knelt on the open field and returned thanks to God. Napoleon, before nightfall, gave orders for full retreat; but, on the morning of the 19th, recommenced the battle and sacrificed some of his *corps d'armée* in order to save the remainder. He had, however, foolishly left but one bridge across the Elster open, and the retreat was consequently retarded. Leipzig was stormed by the Prussians, and, whilst the French rear-guard was still battling on that side of the bridge, Napoleon fled, and had no sooner crossed the bridge than it was blown up with a tremendous explosion, owing to the inadvertence of a subaltern, who is said to have fired the train too hastily. The troops engaged on the opposite bank were irremediably lost. Prince Poniatowsky plunged on horseback into the Elster in order to swim across, but sank in the deep mud. The king of Saxony, who to the last had remained true to Napoleon, was among the prisoners. The loss during this battle, which raged for four days, and in which almost every nation in Europe stood opposed to each other, was immense on both sides. The total loss in dead was computed at eighty thousand. The French lost, moreover, three hundred guns and a multitude of prisoners; in the city of Leipzig alone twenty-three thousand sick, without reckoning the innumerable wounded. Numbers of these unfortunates lay bleeding and starving to death during the cold October nights on the field of battle, it being found impossible to erect a sufficient number of lazaretti for their accommodation. Napoleon made a hasty and disorderly retreat with the remainder of his troops, but was overtaken at Freiberg on the Unstrutt, where the bridge broke, and a repetition of the disastrous passage of the Beresina occurred. The fugitives collected into a dense mass, upon which the Prussian artillery played with murderous effect. The French lost

remained after the battle of Leipzig, and, without going over to the allies, returned to Würtemberg. Normann was punished by his sovereign.

* The city was in a state of utter confusion. "The noise caused by the passage of the cavalry, carriages, etc., by the cries of the fugitives through the streets, exceeded that of the most terrific storm. The earth shook, the windows clattered with the thunder of artillery, etc."—*The Terrors of Leipzig*, 1813.

forty of their guns. At Hanau, Wrede, Napoleon's former favourite, after taking Würzburg, watched the movements of his ancient patron, and, had he occupied the pass at Gelnhausen, might have annihilated him. Napoleon, however, furiously charged his flank, and, on the 20th of October, succeeded in forcing a passage and in sending seventy thousand men across the Rhine. Wrede was dangerously wounded.* On the 9th of November, the last French corps was defeated at Hochheim and driven back upon Mayence.

In the November of this ever memorable year, 1813, Germany, as far as the Rhine, was completely freed from the French.† Above a hundred thousand French troops, still shut up in the fortresses and cut off from all communication with France, gradually surrendered. In October, the allies took Bremen; in November, Stettin, Zamosk, Modlin, and those two important points, Dresden and Dantzig. In Dresden, Gouvion St. Cyr capitulated to Count Klenau, who granted him free egress on condition of the delivery of the whole of the army stores. St. Cyr, however, infringed the terms of capitulation by destroying several of the guns and sinking the gunpowder in the Elbe; consequently, on the non-recognition of the capitulation by the generalissimo, Schwarzenberg, he found himself without means of defence and was compelled to surrender at discretion with a garrison thirty-five thousand strong. Rapp, the Alsacian, commanded in Dantzig. This city had already fearfully suffered from the commercial interdiction, from the exactions and the scandalous licence of its French protectors, whom the ravages of famine and pestilence finally compelled to yield.‡ Lübeck and Torgau fell in December; the typhus, which had never ceased to accompany the armies, raged there in the crowded hospitals,

* The king of Würtemberg, who had fifteen hundred men close at hand, did not send them to the aid of the Bavarians, nor did he go over to the allies until the 2nd of November.

† In November, one hundred and forty thousand French prisoners and seven hundred and ninety-one guns were in the hands of the allies.

‡ Dantzig had formerly sixty thousand inhabitants, the population was now reduced to thirteen thousand. Numbers died of hunger, Rapp having merely stored the magazines for his troops. Fifteen thousand of the French garrison died, and yet fourteen generals, upwards of a thousand officers, and about as many comptrollers belonging to the grand army, who had taken refuge in that city, were, on the capitulation of the fortress, made prisoners of war.

carrying off thousands, and greater numbers fell victims to this pestilential disease than to the war, not only among the troops, but in every part of the country through which they passed. Wittenberg, whose inhabitants had been shamefully abused by the French under Lapoype, Cüstrin, Glogau, Wesel, Erfurt, fell in the beginning of 1814; Magdeburg and Bremen, after the conclusion of the war.

The Rhenish confederation was dissolved, each of the princes securing his hereditary possessions by a timely secession. The kings of Westphalia and Saxony, Dalberg, grand-duke of Frankfurt, and the princes of Isenburg and von der Leyen, who had too heavily sinned against Germany, were alone excluded from pardon. The king of Saxony was at first carried prisoner to Berlin, and afterwards, under the protection of Austria, to Prague. Denmark also concluded peace at Kiel and ceded Norway to Sweden, upon which the Swedes, *quasi re bene gesta*, returned home.*

CCLXII. *Napoleon's fall.*

NAPOLEON was no sooner driven across the Rhine, than the defection of the whole of the Rhenish confederation, of Holland, Switzerland, and Italy ensued. The whole of the confederated German princes followed the example of Bavaria and united their troops with those of the allies. Jerome had fled; the kingdom of Westphalia had ceased to exist, and the exiled princes of Hesse, Brunswick, and Oldenburg returned to their respective territories. The Rhenish provinces were instantly occupied by Prussian troops and placed under the patriotic administration of Justus Gruner, who was joined by Görres of Coblentz, whose Rhenish Mercury so powerfully influenced public opinion that Napoleon termed him the fifth great European power.† The Dutch revolted and took the few French, still remaining in the country, prisoner. Hogendorp was placed at the head of a provisional government in the name of William of Orange.‡ The Prussians under Bü-

* The injustice thus favoured by the first peace was loudly complained of.—*Manso.*

† His principal thesis consisted of "We are not Prussians, Westphalians, Saxons, etc., but Germans."

‡ This prince took the title not of stadtholder, but of king, to which he

low entered the country and were received with great acclamation. The whole of the Dutch fortresses surrendered, the French garrisons flying panic-stricken.

The Swiss remained faithful to Napoleon until the arrival of Schwarzenberg with the allied army on their frontiers.* Napoleon would gladly have beheld the Swiss sacrifice themselves for him for the purpose of keeping the allies in check, but Reinhard of Zürich, who was at that time *Landammann*, prudently resolved not to persevere in the demand for neutrality, to lay aside every manifestation of opposition, and to permit, it being impossible to prevent, the entrance of the troops into the country, by which he, moreover, ingratiated himself with the allies. The majority of his countrymen thanked Heaven for their deliverance from French oppression, and if, in their ancient spirit of egotism, they neglected to aid the great popular movement throughout Germany, they, at all events, sympathized in the general hatred towards France.† The ancient aristocrats now naturally re-appeared and attempted to re-establish the oligarchical governments of the foregoing century. A Count Senfft von Pilsack, a pretended Austrian envoy, who was speedily disavowed, assumed the authority at Berne with so much assurance as to succeed in deposing the existing government and reinstating the ancient oligarchy. In Zürich, the constitution was also revised and the citizens re-assumed their authority over the peasantry. The whole of Switzerland was in a state of ferment. Ancient claims of the most varied description were asserted. The people of the Grisons took up arms and invaded the Valteline in order to retake their ancient possession. Pancratius, abbot of St. Gall, demanded the restoration of his princely abbey.——Italy, also, deserted Napoleon. Murat, king of Naples, in order not to lose his crown, joined the allies. Eugene Beauharnois, viceroy of Italy, alone remained true to his imperial step-father

had no claim, but in which he was supported by England and Russia, who unwillingly beheld Prussia aggrandized by the possession of Holland.

* Even in the May of 1813, an ode, given in No. 270 of the Allgemeine Zeitung, appeared in Switzerland, in which it was said, "The brave warriors of Switzerland hasten to reap fresh laurels. With their heroic blood have they dyed the distant shores of barbarous Haiti, the waters of the Ister and Tagus, etc. The deserts of Sarmatia have witnessed the martial glories of the Helvetic legion."

† Shortly before this, a report had been spread of the nomination of Marshal Berthier, prince of Neufchâtel, as perpetual Landammann of Switzerland.—*Muralt's Reinhard.*

and gallantly opposed the Austrians under Hiller, who, nevertheless, rapidly reduced the whole of Upper Italy to submission.

The allies, when on the point of entering the French territory, solemnly declared that their enmity was directed not against the French nation, but solely against Napoleon. By this generosity they hoped at once to prove the beneficence of their intentions to every nation of Europe and to prejudice the French, more particularly, against their tyrant; but that people, notwithstanding their immense misfortunes, still remained true to Napoleon nor hesitated to sacrifice themselves for the man who had raised them to the highest rank among the nations of the earth, and thousands flocked anew beneath the imperial eagle for the defence of their native soil.

The allies invaded France simultaneously on four sides, Bülow from Holland, Blücher, on new year's eve, 1814, from Coblentz, and the main body of the allied army under Schwarzenberg, which was also accompanied by the allied sovereigns. A fourth army, consisting of English and Spaniards, had already crossed the Pyrenees and marched up the country. The great wars in Russia and Germany having compelled Napoleon to draw off a considerable number of his forces from Spain, Soult had been consequently unable to keep the field against Wellington, whose army had been gradually increased. King Joseph fled from Madrid. The French hazarded a last engagement at Vittoria, in June, 1813, but suffered a terrible defeat. One of the two Nassau regiments under Colonel Kruse and the Frankfurt battalion deserted with their arms and baggage to the English. The other Nassau regiment and that of Baden were disarmed by the French and dragged in chains to France in reward for their long and severe service.* The Hanoverians in Wellington's army, (the German legion,) particularly the corps of Victor von Alten, (Charles's brother,) brilliantly distinguished themselves at Vittoria and again at Bayonne, but were forgotten in the despatches, an omission that was loudly complained of by their general, Hinüber. Other divisions of Hanoverians, up to this period stationed in Sicily, had been sent to garrison Leghorn and Genoa.†——The crown-prince of Sweden followed the Prus-

* Out of two thousand six hundred and fifty-four Badeners but five hundred and six returned from Spain.

† Beamisch, History of the Legion.

sian northern army, but merely went as far as Liege, whence he turned back in order to devote his whole attention to the conquest of Norway.

In the midst of the contest a fresh congress was assembled at Chatillon for the purpose of devising measures for the conclusion of the war without further bloodshed. The whole of ancient France was offered to Napoleon on condition of his restraining his ambition within her limits and of keeping peace, but he refused to cede a foot of land and resolved to lose all or nothing. This congress was in so far disadvantageous on account of the rapid movements of the armies being checked by its fluctuating diplomacy. Schwarzenberg, for instance, pursued a system of procrastination, separated his *corps d'armée* at long intervals, advanced with extreme slowness, or remained entirely stationary. Napoleon took advantage of this dilatoriness on the part of his opponents to make an unexpected attack on Blücher's corps at Brienne on the 29th of January, in which Blücher narrowly escaped being made prisoner. The flames of the city, in which Napoleon had received his first military lessons, facilitated Blücher's retreat. Napoleon, however, neglecting to pursue him on the 30th of January, Blücher, reinforced by the crown-prince of Würtemberg and by Wrede, attacked him at La Rothière with such superior forces as to put him completely to the rout. The French left seventy-three guns sticking in the mud. Schwarzenberg, nevertheless, instead of pursuing the retreating enemy with the whole of his forces, again delayed his advance and divided the troops. Blücher, who had meanwhile rapidly pushed forward upon Paris, was again unexpectedly attacked by the main body of the French army, and the whole of his corps were, as they separately advanced, repulsed with considerable loss, the Russians under Olsufief at Champeaubert, those under Sacken at Montmirail, the Prussians under York at Château-Thierry, and finally, Blücher himself at Beauxchamp, between the 10th and 14th of February. With characteristic rapidity, Napoleon instantly fell upon the scattered corps of the allied army and inflicted a severe punishment upon Schwarzenberg for the folly of his system. He successively repulsed the Russians under Pahlen at Mormant, Wrede at Villeneuve le Comte, the crown-prince of Würtemberg, who offered the most obstinate resistance, at Montereau,

on the 17th and 18th of February.* Augereau had meantime, with an army levied in the south of France, driven the Austrians, under Bubna, into Switzerland; and, although the decisive moment had arrived and Schwarzenberg had simply to form a junction with Blücher in order to bring an overwhelming force against Napoleon, the allied sovereigns and Schwarzenberg resolved, in a council of war held at Troyes, upon a general retreat.

Blücher, upon this, magnanimously resolved to obviate at all hazards the disastrous consequences of the retreat of the allied army, and, in defiance of all commands, pushed forwards alone.† This movement, far from being rash, was coolly calculated, Blücher being sufficiently reinforced on the Marne by Winzingerode and Bülow, by whose aid he, on the 9th of March, defeated the emperor Napoleon at Laon. The victory was still undecided at fall of night. Napoleon allowed his troops to rest, but Blücher remained under arms and sent York to surprise him during the night. The French were completely dispersed and lost forty-six guns. Napoleon,

* Several regiments sacrificed themselves in order to cover the retreat of the rest. Napoleon ordered a twelve-pounder to be loaded and twice directed the gun with his own hand upon the crown-prince.—*Campaigns of the Würtembergers.*

† Blücher's conduct simply proceeded from his impatience to obtain by force of arms the most honourable terms of peace for Prussia, whilst the other allied powers, who were far more indulgently disposed towards France and who began to view the victories gained by Prussia with an apprehension which was further strengthened by the increasing popularity of that power throughout Germany, were more inclined to diplomatize than to fight. Blücher was well aware of these reasons for diplomacy and more than once cut the negotiations short with his sabre. A well-known diplomatist attempting on one occasion to prove to him that Napoleon must, even without the war being continued, "descend from his throne," a league having been formed within France herself for the restoration of the Bourbons,—he answered him to his face, "The rascality of the French is no revenge for us. It is we who must pull him down,—we. You will no doubt do wonders in your wisdom!—Patience! You will be led as usual by the nose, and will still go on fawning and diplomatizing until we have the nation again upon us, and the storm bursts over our heads." He went so far as to set the diplomatists actually at defiance. On being, to Napoleon's extreme delight, ordered to retreat, he treated the order with contempt and instantly advanced.—*Rauschnick's Life of Blücher.* "This second disjunction on Blücher's part," observes Clausenitz, the Prussian general, the best commentator on this war, "was of infinite consequence, for it checked and gave a fresh turn to the whole course of political affairs."

after this miserable defeat, again tried his fortune against Schwarzenberg, (who, put to shame by Blücher's brilliant success, had again halted,) and, on the 20th of March, maintained his position at Arcis sur Aube, although the crown-prince of Würtemberg gallantly led his troops five times to the assault. Neither side was victorious.

Napoleon now resorted to a bold *ruse de guerre*. The peasantry, more particularly in Lorraine, exasperated by the devastation unavoidable during war-time, and by the vengeance here and there taken by the foreign soldiery, had risen to the rear of the allied army. Unfortunately, no one had dreamt of treating the German Alsacians and Lothringians as brother Germans. They were treated as French. Long unaccustomed to invasion and to the calamities incidental to war, they made a spirited but ineffectual resistance to the rapine of the soldiery. Whole villages were burnt down. The peasantry gathered into troops and massacred the foreign soldiery when not in sufficient numbers to keep them in check. Napoleon confidently expected that his diminished armies would be supported by a general rising *en masse*, and that Augereau, who was at that time guarding Lyons, would form a junction with him; and, in this expectation, threw himself to the rear of the allied forces and took up a position at Troyes with a view of cutting them off, perhaps of surrounding them by means of the general rising, or, at all events, of drawing them back to the Rhine. But, on the self-same day, the 19th of March, Lyons had fallen and Augereau had retreated southwards. The people did not rise *en masse*, and the allies took advantage of Napoleon's absence to form a grand junction, and, with flying banners, to march unopposed upon Paris, convinced that the possession of the capital of the French empire must inevitably bring the war to a favourable conclusion. In Paris, there were numerous individuals who already beheld Napoleon's fall as *un fait accompli*, and who, ambitious of influencing the future prospects of France, were ready to offer their services to the victors. Both parties speedily came to an understanding. The *corps d'armée* under Marshals Mortier and Marmont, which were encountered midway, were repulsed, and that under Generals Pacthod and Amey captured, together with seventy pieces of artillery, at la Fère Champenoise. On the 29th of March, the dark columns of the allied

army defiled within sight of Paris. On the 30th, they met with a spirited resistance on the heights of Belleville and Montmartre; but the city, in order to escape bombardment, capitulated during the night, and, on the 31st, the allied sovereigns made a peaceful entry. The empress, accompanied by the king of Rome, by Joseph, ex-king of Spain, and by innumerable waggons, laden with the spoil of Europe, had already fled to the south of France.

Napoleon, completely deceived by Winzingerode and Tettenborn, who had remained behind with merely a weak rear-guard, first learnt the advance of the main body upon Paris when too late to overtake it. After almost annihilating his weak opponents at St. Dizier, he reached Fontainebleau, where he learnt the capitulation of Paris, and, giving way to the whole fury of his Corsican temperament, offered to yield the city for two days to the licence of his soldiery would they but follow him to the assault. But his own marshals, even his hero, Ney, deserted him, and, on the 10th of April, he was compelled to resign the imperial crown of France and to withdraw to the island of Elba on the coast of Italy, which was placed beneath his sovereignty and assigned to him as a residence. The kingdom of France was re-established on its ancient footing; and, on the 4th of May, Louis XVIII. entered Paris and mounted the throne of his ancestors.

Davoust was the last to offer resistance. The Russians under Bennigsen besieged him in Hamburg, and, on his final surrender, treated him with the greatest moderation.*

On the 30th of May, 1814, peace was concluded at Paris.† France was reduced to her limits as in 1792, and consequently retained the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, of

* Görres said in the Rhenish Mercury, "It is easy to see how all are inclined to conceal beneath the wide mantle of love the horrors there perpetrated. The Germans have from time immemorial been subjected to this sort of treatment, because ever ready to forgive and forget the past." Davoust was arrested merely for form's sake and then honourably released. He was allowed to retain the booty he had seized. The citizens of Hamburg vainly implored the re-establishment of their bank.

† Blücher took no part in these affairs. "I have," said he to the diplomatists, "done my duty, now do yours! You will be responsible both to God and man should your work be done in vain and have to be done over again. I have nothing further to do with the business!"—Experience had, however, taught him not to expect much good from "quill-drivers."

which she had, at an earlier period, deprived Germany. Not a farthing was paid by way of compensation for the ravages suffered by Germany, nay, the French prisoners of war were, on their release, maintained on their way home at the expense of the German population. None of the *chefs-d'œuvres* of which Europe had been plundered were restored, with the sole exception of the group of horses, taken by Napoleon from the Brandenburg gate at Berlin. The allied troops instantly evacuated the country. France was allowed to regulate her internal affairs without the interference of any of the foreign powers, whilst paragraphs concerning the internal economy of Germany were not only admitted into the treaty of Paris, and France was on that account not only called upon to guarantee and to participate in the internal affairs of Germany, but also afterwards sent to the great Congress of Vienna an ambassador destined to play an important part in the definitive settlement of the affairs of Europe, and more particularly, of those of Germany.

The patriots, of whom the governments had made use both before and after the war, unable to comprehend that the result of such immense exertions and of such a complete triumph should be to bring greater profit and glory to France than to Germany, and that their patriotism was, on the conclusion of the war, to be renounced, were loud in their complaints.* But the revival of the German empire, with which the individual interests of so many princely houses were plainly incompatible, was far from entering into the plans of the allied powers. An attempt made by any one among the princes to place himself at the head of the whole of Germany would have been frustrated by the rest. The policy of the foreign allies was moreover antipathetic to such a scheme. England opposed and sought to hinder unity in Germany, not only for the sake of retaining possession of Hanover and of exercising an influence over the disunited German princes similar to that exercised by her over the princes of India, but more particularly for that of ruling the commerce of Germany. Russia reverted to her Erfurt policy. Her interests, like those of France,

* The Rhenish Mercury more than all. It was opposed by the Messenger of the Tyrol, which declared that the victory was gained, not by the "people," as they were termed, but by the princes and their armies. —*July*, 1814.

led her to promote disunion among the German powers, whose weakness, the result of want of combination, placed them at the mercy of France, and left Poland, Sweden, and the East open to her ambition. A close alliance was in consequence instantly formed between the emperor Alexander and Louis XVIII., the former negotiating, as the first condition of peace, the continuance of Lorraine and Alsace beneath the sovereignty of France.

Austria assented on condition of Italy being placed exclusively beneath her control. Austria united too many and too diverse nations beneath her sceptre to be able to pursue a policy pre-eminently German, and found it more convenient to round off her territory by the annexation of Upper Italy than by that of distant Lorraine, at all times a possession difficult to maintain. Prussia was too closely connected with Russia, and Hardenberg, unlike Blücher at the head of the Prussian army, was powerless at the head of Prussian diplomacy. The lesser states also exercised no influence upon Germany as a whole, and were merely intent upon preserving their individual integrity or upon gaining some petty advantage. The Germans, some few discontented patriots alone excepted, were more than ever devoted to their ancient princes, both to those who had retained their station and to those who returned to their respective territories on the fall of Napoleon; and the victorious soldiery, adorned with ribbons, medals, and orders, (the Prussians, for instance, with the iron cross,) evinced the same unreserved attachment to their prince and zeal for his individual interest. This complication of circumstances can alone explain the fact of Germany, although triumphant, having made greater concessions to France by the treaty of Paris than, when humbled, by that of Westphalia.

CCLXIII. *The Congress of Vienna. Napoleon's return and end.*

From Paris the sovereigns of Prussia* and Russia and the victorious field-marshals proceeded, in June, to London,

* From London, Frederick William went to Switzerland and took possession of his ancient hereditary territory, Wälsch-Neuenburg or Neufchâtel, visited the beautiful Bernese Oberland, and then returned to Berlin, where, on the 7th of August, he passed in triumph through the

where they, Blücher most particularly, were received with every demonstration of delight and respect by the English, their oldest and most faithful allies.* Towards autumn, a great European congress, to which the settlement of every point in dispute and the restoration of order throughout Europe were to be committed, was convoked at Vienna. At this congress, which, in the November of 1814, was opened at Vienna, the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and the greater part of the petty princes of Germany, were present in person; the other powers were represented by ambassadors extraordinary. The greatest statesmen of that period were here assembled; amongst others, Metternich, the Austrian minister, Harden-

Brandenburg gate, which was again adorned with the car of victory and the fine group of horses, and rode through the lime trees to an altar, around which the clergy belonging to every religious sect were assembled. Here public thanks were given and the whole of the citizens present fell upon their knees.—*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 252. On the 17th of September, the preparation of a new liturgy was announced in a ministerial proclamation, "by which the solemnity of the church service was to be increased, the present one being too little calculated to excite or strike the imagination."

* Oxford conferred a doctor's degree upon Blücher, who, upon receiving this strange honour, said, "Make Gneisenau apothecary, for he it was who prepared my pills." On his first reception at Carlton House, the populace pushed their way through the guards and doors as far as the apartments of the prince regent, who, taking his grey-headed guest by the hand, presented him to them, and publicly hung his portrait set in brilliants around his neck. On his passing through the streets, the horses were taken from his carriage, and he was drawn in triumph by the shouting crowd. One fête succeeded another. During the great races at Ascot, the crowd breaking through the barriers and insisting upon Blücher's showing himself, the prince regent came forward and, politely telling them that he had not yet arrived, led forward the emperor Alexander, who was loudly cheered, but Blücher's arrival was greeted with thunders of applause far surpassing those bestowed upon the sovereigns, a circumstance that was afterwards blamed by the English papers. In the Freemasons' Lodge, Blücher was received by numbers of ladies, on each of whom he bestowed a salute. At Portsmouth, he drank to the health of the English in the presence of an immense concourse of people assembled beneath his windows.——The general rejoicing was solely clouded by the domestic circumstances of the royal family, by the insanity of the aged and blind king and by the disunion reigning between the prince regent and his thoughtless consort, Caroline of Brunswick.—— Although the whole of the allied sovereigns, some of whom were unable to speak English, understood German, French was adopted as the medium of conversation.—*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 174.

berg and Humboldt, the Prussian ministers, Castlereagh, the English plenipotentiary, Nesselrode, the Russian envoy, Talleyrand and Dalberg, Gagern, Bernstorff, and Wrede, the ambassadors of France, Holland, Denmark, and Bavaria, etc. The negotiations were of the utmost importance, for, although one of the most difficult points, the new regulation of affairs in France, was already settled, many extremely difficult questions still remained to be solved. Talleyrand, who had served under every government, under the republic, under the usurper, Napoleon; who had retaken office under the Bourbons and the Jesuits who had returned in their train, and who, on this occasion, was the representative of the criminal and humbled French nation, ventured, nevertheless, to offer his perfidious advice to the victors, and, with diabolical art, to sow the seed of discord among them. This conduct was the more striking on account of its glaring incongruity with the proclamation of Calisch, which expressly declared that the internal affairs of Germany were wholly and solely to be arranged by the princes and nations of Germany, without foreign, and naturally, least of all, without French interference.* Talleyrand's first object was to suppress the popular spirit of liberty throughout Germany, and to rouse against it the jealous apprehensions of the princes. He therefore said, "You wish for constitutions; guard against them. In France, desire for a constitution produced a revolution, and the same will happen to you." He it was who gave to the congress that catch-word, legitimacy. The object of the past struggle was not the restoration of the liberties of the people but that of the ancient legitimate dynasties and their absolute sovereignty. The war had been directed, not against Napoleon, but against the Revolution, against the usurpation of the people. By means of this legitimacy the king of Saxony

* "There are moments in the life of nations on which the whole of their future destiny depends. The children are destined to expiate their fathers' errors with their blood. Germany has every thing to fear from the foreigner, and yet she cannot arrange her own affairs without calling the foreigner to her aid.——Who, in the congress, chiefly oppose every well-laid plan? Who, with the dagger's point, pick out and re-open all our wounds, and rub them with salt and poison? Who promote confusion, provoke, insinuate, and attempt to creep into every committee, to interfere in every discussion? who but those sent thither by France?"—*The Rhenish Mercury.*

was to be re-established on his throne, and Prussia was on no account to be permitted to incorporate Saxony with her dominions. Prussia appealed to her services towards Germany, to her enormous sacrifices, to the support given to her by public opinion; but the power of public opinion was itself questioned. The seeds of discord quickly sprang up, and, on the 3rd of January, 1815, a secret league against Prussia was already formed for the purpose of again humbling the state that had sacrificed all for the honour of Germany, of frustrating her schemes of aggrandizement, and of quenching the patriotic spirit of German idealists and enthusiasts.*

The want of unanimity amid the members of the congress had at the same time a bad effect upon the ancient Rhenish confederated states. In Nassau, the *Landwehr* was, on its return home after the campaign, received with marks of dissatisfaction. In Baden and Hesse, many of the officers belonging to the army openly espoused Napoleon's cause. In Baden, the volunteer corps was deprived of its horses and sent home on foot.† In Würtemberg, King Frederick refused to allow the foreign troops and convoys a passage along the high road through Cannstadt and Ludwigsburg, and forbade the attendance of civil surgeons upon the wounded belonging to the allied army. In Würtemberg and Bavaria, the Rhenish Mercury was suppressed on account of its patriotic and German tendency. At Stuttgard, the festival in commemoration of the battle of Leipzig was disallowed; and in Frankfurt a M., the editor of a French journal ventured, unreprimanded, to turn this festival into ridicule.

Switzerland was in a high state of ferment. The people of the Grisons, who had taken possession of the Valteline, and the people of Uri, who had seized the Livinenthal, had

* Fate willed that Stein should not be called upon to act with firmness, but Hardenberg to make concessions. Stein disappeared from the theatre of events and was degraded to a lower sphere. Hardenberg was created prince.

† Napoleon had such good friends among the Rhenish confederated princes that Augustus, duke of Gotha, for instance, even after the second occupation of Paris, on the return of his troops in the November of 1815, prohibited any demonstrations of triumph and even deprived the *Landwehr* of their uniforms, so that the poor fellows had to return in their shirt sleeves to their native villages during the hard winter.—*Jacob's Campaigns.*

been respectively driven out of those territories by the Austrians. The Valais, Geneva, Neufchatel, and Pruntrut were, on the other hand, desirous of joining the confederation. The democratic peasantry was almost every where at war with the aristocratic burghers. Berne revived her claim upon Vaud and Aargau, which armed in self-defence.* Reinhard of Zürich, the Swiss *Landammann*, went, meanwhile, at the head of an embassy to Vienna, for the purpose of settling in the congress the future destinies of Switzerland by means of the intervention of the great powers. Talleyrand, with unparalleled impudence, also interfered in this affair, threatened to refuse his recognition to every measure passed without his concurrence, and compelled the Swiss to entreat him to honour the deliberations with his presence. On Austria's demanding a right of conscription in the Grisons alone, France having enjoyed that right throughout the whole of Switzerland at an earlier period, Talleyrand advised the Swiss to make a most violent opposition against an attempt that placed their independence at stake. "Cry out," he exclaimed, "cry out, as loud as you can!"†

The disputes in the congress raised Napoleon's hopes. In France, his party was still powerful, almost the whole of the population being blindly devoted to him, and an extensive conspiracy for his restoration to the imperial throne was secretly set on foot. Several thousands of his veteran soldiery had been released from foreign durance; the whole of the military stores, the spoil of Europe, still remained in the possession of France; the fortresses were solely garrisoned with French troops; Elba was close at hand, and the emperor was guarded with criminal negligence. Heavy, indeed, is the responsibility of those who, by thus neglecting their charge, once more let loose this scourge upon the earth!‡ Napoleon quitted his

* An attack upon Berne had already been concerted. Colonel Bär marched with the people of Aargau in the night-time upon Aarburg, but his confederates failing to make their appearance, he caused the nearest Bernese governor to be alarmed and hastily retraced his steps. The Bernese instantly sent an armed force to the frontier, where, finding all tranquil, the charge of aggression was thrown upon their shoulders.

† Vide Muralt's Life of Reinhard.

‡ Blucher was at Berlin at the moment when the news of Napoleon's escape arrived. He instantly roused the English ambassador from his sleep by shouting in his ear, "Have the English a fleet in the Mediterranean?"

island, and, on the 1st of March, 1815, again set foot on the coast of France. He was merely accompanied by one thousand five hundred men, but the whole of the troops sent against him by Louis XVIII. ranged themselves beneath his eagle. He passed, as if in triumph, through his former empire. The whole nation received him with acclamations of delight. Not a single Frenchman shed a drop of blood for the Bourbon, who fled hastily to Ghent; and, on the 20th of March, Napoleon entered Paris unopposed. His brother-in-law, Murat, at the same time revolted at Naples and advanced into Upper Italy against the Austrians. But all the rest of Napoleon's ancient allies, persuaded that he must again fall, either remained tranquil or formed a close alliance with the combined powers. The Swiss, in particular, showed excessive zeal on this occasion, and took up arms against France in the hope of rendering the allied sovereigns favourable to their new constitution. The Swiss regiments, which had passed from Napoleon's service to that of Louis XVIII., also remained unmoved by Napoleon's blandishments, were deprived of their arms and returned separately to Switzerland.

The allied sovereigns were still assembled at Vienna, and at once allowed every dispute to drop in order to form a fresh and closer coalition. They declared Napoleon an outlaw, a robber, proscribed by all Europe, and bound themselves to bring a force more than a million strong into the field against him. All Napoleon's cunning attempts to bribe and set them at variance were treated with scorn, and the combined powers speedily came to an understanding on the points hitherto so strongly contested. Saxony was partitioned between her ancient sovereign and Prussia, and a revolt that broke out in Liege among the Saxon troops, who were by command of Prussia to be divided before they had been released from their oath of allegiance to their king, is easily explained by the hurry and pressure of the times, which caused all minor considerations to be forgotten.* Napoleon exclusively occupied the

* The blame was entirely upon the Prussian side. The Saxons, as good soldiers, naturally revolted at the idea that they would at once be faithless to their oath, and mutinied. General Müffling was insulted for having spoken of "Saxon hounds." Blücher even was compelled secretly to take his departure. The Saxon troops were, however, reduced to obedience by superior numbers of Prussians, and their colours were burnt. The whole corps was about to be decimated, when Colonel Rö-

mind of every diplomatist, and all agreed in the necessity, at all hazards, of his utter annihilation. The lion, thus driven at bay, turned upon his pursuers for a last and desperate struggle. The French were still faithful to Napoleon, who, with a view of re-inspiring them with the enthusiastic spirit that had rendered them invincible in the first days of the republic, again called forth the old republicans, nominated them to the highest appointments, re-established several republican institutions, and, on the 1st of June, presented to his dazzled subjects the magnificent spectacle of a field of May, as in the times of Charlemagne and in the commencement of the Revolution, and then led a numerous and spirited army to the Dutch frontiers against the enemy.

Here stood a Prussian army under Blücher, and an Anglo-German one under Wellington, comprehending the Dutch under the Prince of Orange, the Brunswickers under their duke, the recruited Hanoverian legion under Wallmoden. These *corps d'armée* most imminently threatened Paris. The main body of the allied army under Schwarzenberg, then advancing from the south, was still distant. Napoleon consequently directed his first attack against the two former. His army had gained immensely in strength and spirit by the return of his veteran troops from foreign imprisonment. Wellington, ignorant at what point Napoleon might cross the frontier, had followed the old and ill-judged plan of dividing his forces; an incredible error, the allies having simply to unite their forces and to take up a firm position in order to draw Napoleon to any given spot. Wellington, moreover, never imagined that Napoleon was so near at hand, and was amusing himself at a ball at Brussels, when Blücher, who was stationed in and around Namur, was attacked on the 14th of June, 1815.*

mer came forward and demanded that the sentence of death should be first executed on him. Milder measures were in consequence reverted to, and a few of the men were condemned to death by drawing lots. Kanitz, the drummer, a youth of sixteen, however, threw away the dice, exclaiming, "It is I who beat the summons for revolt, and I will be the first to die." He and six others were shot. Borstel, the Prussian general, the hero of Dennewitz, who had steadily refused to burn the Saxon colours, was compelled to quit the service.

* For a refutation of Menzel's absurdly perverted relation of these great events, the reader is referred not only to the Duke of Wellington's despatches and to Colonel Siborne's well-established account of the

Napoleon afterwards observed in his memoirs, that he had attacked Blücher first because he well knew that Blücher would not be supported by the over-prudent and egotistical English commander, but that Wellington, had he been first attacked, would have received every aid from his high-spirited and faithful ally. Wellington, after being repeatedly urged by Blücher, collected his scattered corps, but neither completely nor with sufficient rapidity; and on Blücher's announcement of Napoleon's arrival, exerted himself on the following morning so far as to make a *reconnoissance*. The duke of Brunswick, with impatience equalling that of Blücher, was the only one who had quitted the ball during the night and had hurried forward against the enemy. Napoleon, owing to Wellington's negligence, gained time to throw himself between him and Blücher and to prevent their junction; for he knew the spirit of his opponents. He consequently opposed merely a small division of his army under Ney to the English and turned with the whole of his main body against the Prussians. The veteran Blücher perceived his intentions * and in consequence urgently demanded aid from the Duke of Wellington, who promised to send him a reinforcement of twenty thousand men by four o'clock on the 16th. But this aid never arrived, Wellington, although Ney was too weak to obstruct the movement, making no attempt to perform his promise. Wellington retired with superior forces before Ney at Quatre Bras, and allowed the gallant and unfortunate Duke William of Brunswick to fall a futile sacrifice. Blücher meanwhile yielded to the overwhelming force brought against him by Napoleon at Ligny, also on the 16th of June. Vainly did the Prussians rush to the attack beneath the murderous fire of the French, vainly did Blücher in person head the assault and for five hours continue the combat hand to hand in the village of Ligny. Numbers prevailed, and Wellington sent no relief. The infantry being at length driven back, Blücher led the cavalry once more to the charge, but was re-

battles of Ligny, Wavre, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo, but also to those of his countrymen, Müffling, the Prussian general, and Wagner.—*Translator*

* Shortly before the battle, Bourmont, the French general, set up the white cockade (the symbol of Bourbon) and deserted to Blücher, who merey said, "It is all one what symbol the fellows set up, rascals are ever rascals!"

pulsed and fell senseless beneath his horse, which was shot dead. His adjutant, Count Nostitz, alone remained at his side. The French cavalry passed close by without perceiving them, twilight and a misty rain having begun to fall. The Prussians fortunately missed their leader, repulsed the French cavalry, which again galloped past him as he lay on the ground, and he was at length drawn from beneath his horse. He still lived, but only to behold the complete defeat of his army.

Blücher, although a veteran of seventy-three and wounded and shattered by his fall, was not for a moment discouraged.* Ever vigilant, he assembled his scattered troops with wonderful rapidity, inspirited them by his cheerful words, and had the generosity to promise aid, by the afternoon of the 18th of June, to Wellington, who was now in his turn attacked by the main body of the French under Napoleon. What Wellington on the 16th, with a fresh army, could not perform Blücher now effected with troops dejected by defeat, and put the English leader to the deepest shame by—keeping his word.† He consequently fell back upon Wavre in order to remain as close as possible in Wellington's vicinity, and also sent orders to Bülow's corps, that was then on the advance, to join the English army, whilst Napoleon, in the idea that Blücher was falling back upon the Meuse, sent Grouchy in pursuit with a body of thirty-five thousand men.‡

Napoleon, far from imagining that the Prussians, after having been, as he supposed, completely annihilated or panic-stricken by Grouchy, could aid the British, wasted the precious moments, and, instead of hastily attacking Wellington, spent the whole of the morning of the 18th in uselessly parading his troops, possibly with a view of intimidating his opponents and of inducing them to retreat without hazarding an

* The surgeon, when about to rub him with some liquid, was asked by him what it was, and being told that it was spirits, "Ah," said he, "the thing is of no use externally!" and snatching the glass from the hand of his attendant, he drank it off.

† Against all expectation to aid an ally who on the previous day had against all expectation been unable to give him aid, evinced at once magnanimity, sense, and good feeling.—*Clausewitz.*

‡ A Prussian battery, that on its way from Namur turned back on receiving news of this disaster and was taken by the French, is said to have chiefly led to the commission of this immense blunder by Napoleon.

engagement. His well-dressed lines glittered in the sunbeams; the infantry raised their tschakos on the bayonet points, the cavalry their helmets on their sabres, and gave a general cheer for their emperor. The English, however, preserved an undaunted aspect. At length, about mid-day, Napoleon gave orders for the attack, and, furiously charging the British left wing, drove it from the village of Hougumont. He then sent orders to Ney to charge the British centre. At that moment a dark spot was seen in the direction of St. Lambert. Was it Grouchy? A reconnoitring party was despatched and returned with the news of its being the Prussians under Bülow. The attack upon the British centre was consequently remanded, and Ney was despatched with a considerable portion of his troops against Bülow. Wellington now ventured to charge the enemy with his right wing, but was repulsed and lost the farm of La Haye Sainte, which commanded his position on this side as Hougumont did on his right. His centre, however, remained unattacked, the French exerting their utmost strength to keep Bülow's gallant troops back at the village of Planchenoit, where the battle raged with the greatest fury, and a dreadful conflict of some hours' duration ensued hand to hand. But about five o'clock, the left wing of the British being completely thrown into confusion by a fresh attack on the enemy's side, the whole of the French cavalry, twelve thousand strong, made a furious charge upon the British centre, bore down all before them, and took a great number of guns. The Prince of Orange was wounded. The road to Brussels was already thronged with the fugitive English troops, and Wellington, scarcely able to keep his weakened lines together,* was apparently on the brink of destruction, when the thunder of artillery was suddenly heard in the direction of Wavre. "It is Grouchy!" joyfully exclaimed Napoleon, who had repeatedly sent orders to that general to push forward with all possible speed. But it was not Grouchy, it was Blücher.

The faithful troops of the veteran marshal (the old Silesian

* The Hanoverian legion again covered itself with glory by the steadiness with which it opposed the enemy. It lost three thousand five hundred men, the Dutch eight thousand; the German troops consequently lost collectively as many as the English, whose loss was computed at eleven or twelve thousand men. The Prussians, whose loss at Ligny and Waterloo exceeded that of their allies, behaved with even greater gallantry.

army) were completely worn out by the battle, by their retreat in the heavy rain over deep roads, and by the want of food. The distance from Wavre, whence they had been driven, to Waterloo, where Wellington was then in action, was not great, but was rendered arduous owing to these circumstances. The men sometimes fell down from extreme weariness, and the guns stuck fast in the deep mud. But Blücher was every where present, and notwithstanding his bodily pain ever cheered his men forwards, with "indescribable pathos" saying to his disheartened soldiers, "My children, we must advance; I have promised it, do not cause me to break my word!" Whilst still distant from the scene of action, he ordered the guns to be fired in order to keep up the courage of the English, and at length, between six and seven in the evening, the first Prussian corps in advance, that of Ziethen, fell furiously upon the enemy: "Bravo!" cried Blücher, "I know you, my Silesians; to-day we shall see the backs of these French rascals!" Ziethen filled up the space still intervening between Wellington and Bülow. Exactly at that moment, Napoleon had sent his old guard forward in four massive squares in order to make a last attempt to break the British lines, when Zeithen fell upon their flank and dealt fearful havoc among their close masses with his artillery. Bülow's troops, inspirited by this success, now pressed gallantly forwards and finally regained the long-contested village of Planchenoit from the enemy. The whole of the Prussian army, advancing at the double and with drums beating, had already driven back the right wing of the French, when the English, regaining courage, advanced, Napoleon was surrounded on two sides, and the whole of his troops, the old guard under General Cambronne alone excepted, were totally dispersed and fled in complete disorder. The old guard, surrounded by Bülow's cavalry, nobly replied, when challenged to surrender, "La garde ne se rend pas;" and in a few minutes the veteran conquerors of Europe fell beneath the righteous and avenging blows of their antagonists. At the farm of *La Belle Alliance* Blücher offered his hand to Wellington. "I will sleep to-night in Bonaparte's last night's quarters," said Wellington. "And I will drive him out of his present ones!" replied Blücher. The Prussians, fired by enthusiasm, forgot the fatigues they had for four days endured, and, favoured by

a moon-light night, so zealously pursued the French that an immense number of prisoners and a vast amount of booty fell into their hands and Napoleon narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. At Genappe, where the bridge was blocked by fugitives, the pursuit was so close that he was compelled to abandon his carriage leaving his sword and hat behind him. Blücher, who reached the spot a moment afterwards, took possession of the booty, sent Napoleon's hat, sword, and star to the king of Prussia, retained his cloak, telescope, and carriage for his own use, and gave up every thing else, including a quantity of the most valuable jewellery, gold, and money to his brave soldiery. The whole of the army stores, two hundred and forty guns, and an innumerable quantity of arms thrown away by the fugitives, fell into his hands.

The Prussian general, Thielemann, who, with a few troops, had remained behind at Wavre in order, at great hazard, to deceive Grouchy into the belief that he was still opposed by Blücher's entire force, acted a lesser, but equally honourable part on this great day. He fulfilled his commission with great skill, and so completely deceived Grouchy as to hinder his making a single attempt to throw himself in the way of the Prussians on the Paris road.

Blücher pushed forwards without a moment's delay, and, on the 29th of June, stood before Paris. Napoleon had, meanwhile, a second time abdicated, and had fled from Paris in the hope of escaping across the seas. Davoust, the ancient instrument of his tyranny, who commanded in Paris, attempting to make terms of capitulation with Blücher, was sharply answered, "You want to make a defence? Take care what you do. You well know what licence the irritated soldiery will take if your city must be taken by storm. Do you wish to add the sack of Paris to that of Hamburg, already loading your conscience?"* Paris surrendered after a severe engagement at Issy, and Müffling, the Prussian general, was placed in command of the city, July the 7th, 1815. It was on the occasion of a grand banquet given by Wellington shortly after the occupation of Paris by the allied troops that

* The French were extremely affronted on account of this communication being made in German instead of French, and even at the present day German historians are generally struck with deeper astonishment at this sample of Blücher's bold spirit than at any other.

Blücher gave the celebrated toast, "May the pens of diplomatists not again spoil all that the swords of our gallant armies have so nobly won!"

Schwarzenberg had in the interim also penetrated into France, and the crown-prince of Würtemberg had defeated General Rapp at Strassburg and had surrounded that fortress. The Swiss, under General Bachmann, who had, although fully equipped for the field, hitherto prudently watched the turn of events, invaded France immediately after the battle of Waterloo, pillaged Burgundy, besieged and took the fortress of Hüningen, which, with the permission of the allies, they justly razed to the ground, the insolent French having thence fired upon the bridges of Basle which lay close in its vicinity. A fresh Austrian army under Frimont advanced from Italy as far as Lyons. On the 17th of July, Napoleon surrendered himself in the bay of Rochefort to the English, whose ships prevented his escape; he moreover preferred falling into their hands than into those of the Prussians. The whole of France submitted to the triumphant allies, and Louis XVIII. was reinstated on his throne. Murat had also been simultaneously defeated at Tolentino in Italy by the Austrians under Bianchi, and Ferdinand IV. had been restored to the throne of Naples. Murat fled to Corsica, but his retreat to France was prevented by the success of the allies, and in his despair he, with native rashness, yielded to the advice of secret intriguants and returned to Italy with a design of raising a popular insurrection, but was seized on landing and shot on the 13th of October.*

Blücher was greatly inclined to give full vent to his justly roused rage against Paris. The bridge of Jena, one of the numerous bridges across the Seine, the principal object of his displeasure, was, curiously enough, saved from destruction (he had already attempted to blow it up) by the arrival of the king of Prussia.† His proposal to punish France by parti-

* Ney, "the bravest of the brave," who dishonoured his bravery by the basest treachery, met with an equally melancholy fate. Immediately after having, for instance, kissed the gouty fingers of Louis XVIII. and boasting that he would imprison Napoleon within an iron cage, he went over to the latter. He was sentenced to death and shot, after vainly imploring the allied monarchs and personally petitioning Wellington for mercy.—— Alexander Berthier, prince of Neufchatel, Napoleon's chief confidant, had, even before the outbreak of war, thrown himself out of a window in a fit of hypochondriasis and been killed.

† Talleyrand begged Count von der Goltz to use his influence for its

tioning the country and thus placing it on a par with Germany, was far more practical in its tendency.

This honest veteran had in fact a deeper insight into affairs than the most wary diplomatists.* In 1815, the same persons, as in 1814, met in Paris, and similar interests were agitated. Foreign jealousy again effected the conclusion of this peace at the expense of Germany and in favour of France. Blücher's influence at first reigned supreme. The king of Prussia, who, together with the emperors of Russia and Austria, revisited Paris, took Stein and Gruner into his council. The crown-prince of Würtemberg also zealously exerted himself in favour of the reunion of Lorraine and Alsace with Germany.† But Russia and England beholding the reintegration of Germany with displeasure, Austria,‡ and finally Prussia, against whose patriots all were in league, yielded.§ The

preservation with Blücher, who replied to his entreaties, "I will blow up the bridge, and should very much like to have Talleyrand sitting upon it at the time!" An attempt to blow it up was actually made, but failed.

* Many of whom were in fact wilfully blind. Hardenberg, by whom the noble-spirited Stein was so ill replaced, and who, with all possible decency, ever succeeded in losing in the cabinet the advantages gained by Blücher in the field, the diplomatic bird of ill omen by whom the peace of Basle had formerly been concluded, was thus addressed by Blücher: "I should like you gentlemen of the quill to be for once in a way exposed to a smart platoon fire, just to teach you what perils we soldiers have to run in order to repair the blunders you so thoughtlessly commit." An instructive commentary upon these events is to be met with in Stein's letters to Gagern. The light in which Stein viewed the Saxons may be gathered from the following passages in his letters: "My desire for the aggrandizement of Prussia proceeded not from a blind partiality to that state, but from the conviction that Germany is weakened by a system of partition ruinous alike to her national learning and national feelings."——"It is not for Prussia but for Germany that I desire a closer, a firmer internal combination, a wish that will accompany me to the grave: the division of our national strength may be gratifying to others, it never can be so to me." This truly German policy mainly distinguished Stein from Hardenberg, who, thoroughly Prussian in his ideas, was incapable of perceiving that Prussia's best-understood policy ever will be to identify herself with Germany.

† Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 285.

‡ It was proposed that Lorraine and Alsace should be bestowed upon the Archduke Charles, who at that period wedded the Princess Henrietta of Nassau. The proposition, however, quickly fell to the ground.

§ Even in July, their organ, Görres's Rhenish Mercury, was placed beneath the censor. In August, it was said that the men, desirous of giving a constitution to Prussia, had fallen into disgrace.—*Allgemeine Zeitung*, *No.* 249. In September, Schmalz, in Berlin, unveiled the pre-

future destinies of Europe were settled on the side of England by Wellington and Castlereagh; on that of Russia by Prince John Razumowsky, Nesselrode, and Capo d' Istria; on that of Austria by Metternich and Wessenberg; on that of Prussia by Hardenberg and William von Humboldt. The German patriots were excluded from the discussion,* and a result extremely unfavourable to Germany naturally followed:† Alsace and Lorraine remained annexed to France. By the second treaty of Paris, which was definitively concluded on the 20th of November, 1815, France was merely compelled to give up the fortresses of Philippeville, Marienburg, Sarlouis, and Landau, to demolish Huningen, and to allow eighteen other fortresses on the German frontier to be occupied by the allies until the new government had taken firm footing in France. Until then, one hundred and fifty thousand of the allied troops were also to remain within the French territory and to be maintained at the expense of the people. France was, moreover, condemned to pay seven

sumed revolutionary intrigues of the *Tugendbund* and declared "the unity of Germany is something to which the spirit of every nation in Germany has ever been antipathetic." He received a Prussian and a Würtemberg order, besides an extremely gracious autograph letter from the king of Prussia, although his base calumnies against the friends of his country were thrown back upon him by the historians Niebuhr and Rühs, who were then in a high position, by Schleiermacher the theologian, and by others. The nobility also began to stir, attempted to regain their ancient privileges in Prussia, and intrigued against the men who, during the time of need, had made concessions to the citizens.—*Allgemeine Zeitung, No.* 276.

* The Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 319, laughs at the report of their having withdrawn from the discussion, and says that they were no longer invited to take part in it.

† On the loud complaints of the Rhenish Mercury, of the gazettes of Bremen and Hanau, and even of the Allgemeine Zeitung, the Austrian Observer, edited by Gentz, declared that "to demand a better peace would be to demand the ruin of France."—*Allgemeine Zeitung, Nos.* 345, 365. On Görres's repeated demand for the re-annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, of which Germany had been so unwarrantably deprived, the Austrian Observer declared in the beginning of 1816, "who would believe that Görres would lend his pen to such miserable arguments. Alsace and Lorraine are guaranteed to France. To demand their restoration would be contrary to every notion of honour and justice." In this manner was Germany a second time robbed of these provinces. Washington Paine denominated Strassburg, "a melancholy sentry, of which unwary Germany has allowed herself to be deprived, and which now, accoutred in an incongruous uniform, does duty against his own country."

hundred millions of francs towards the expenses of the war and to restore the *chef d'œuvres* of which she had deprived every capital in Europe. The sword of Frederick the Great was not refound: Marshal Serrurier declared that he had burnt it.* On the other hand, however, almost all the famous old German manuscripts, which had formerly been carried from Heidelberg to Rome, and thence by Napoleon to Paris, were sent back to Heidelberg. One of the most valuable, the Manessian Code of the Swabian Minnesingers, was left in Paris, where it had been concealed. Blücher expired, in 1819, on his estate in Silesia.†

The French were now sufficiently humbled to remain in tranquillity, and designedly displayed such submission that the allied sovereigns resolved, at a congress held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the autumn of 1818, to withdraw their troops. Napoleon was, with the concurrence of the assembled powers, taken to the island of St. Helena, where, surrounded by the dreary ocean, several hundred miles from any inhabited spot, and guarded with petty severity by the English, he was at length deprived of every means of disturbing the peace of Europe. Inactivity and the unhealthiness of the climate speedily dissolved the earthly abode of this giant spirit. He expired on the 5th of May, 1821. His consort, Maria Louisa, was created Duchess of Parma; and his son lived, under the title of Duke of Reichstadt, with his imperial grandfather at Vienna, until his death in 1832. Napoleon's stepson, Eugene Beauharnois, the former viceroy of Italy, the son-in-law to the king of Bavaria, received the newly-created mediatized principality of Eichstadt, which was dependent upon Bavaria, and the title of Duke of Leuchtenberg. Jerome, the former

* The Invalids had in the same spirit cast the triumphal monument of the field of Rossbach into the Seine, in order to prevent its restoration. The alarum formerly belonging to Frederick the Great was also missing. Napoleon had it on his person during his flight and made use of it at St. Helena, where it struck his death-hour.

† He was descended from a noble race, which at a very early period enjoyed high repute in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. In 1271, an Ulric von Blücher was bishop of Ratzeburg. A legend relates that, during a time of dearth, an empty barn was, on his petitioning Heaven, instantly filled with corn. In 1356, Wipertus von Blücher also became bishop of Ratzeburg, and, on the pope's refusal to confirm him in his diocese on account of his youth, his hair turned grey in one night. Vide Klüwer's Description of Mecklenburg, 1728.

king of Westphalia, became Count de Montfort;* Louis, ex-king of Holland, Count de St. Leu.

PART XXIII.

THE LATEST TIMES.

CCLXIV. *The German confederation.*

THUS terminated the terrible storms that, not without benefit, had convulsed Europe. Every description of political crime had been fearfully avenged and presumption had been chastised by the unerring hand of Providence. At that solemn period, the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia concluded a treaty by which they bound themselves to follow, not the ruinous policy they had hitherto pursued, but the undoubted will of the King of kings, and, as the viceroys of God upon the earth, to maintain peace, to uphold virtue and justice. This Holy Alliance was concluded on the 26th of September, 1815. All the European powers took part in it; England, who excused herself, the pope, and the sultan, whose accession was not demanded, alone excepted.

The new partition of Europe, nevertheless, retained almost all the unnatural conditions introduced by the more ancient and godless policy of Louis XIV. and of Catherine II. Germany, Poland, and Italy remained partitioned among rulers partly foreign. Every where were countries exchanged or freshly partitioned and rendered subject to foreign rule. England retained possession of Hanover, which was elevated into a German kingdom, of the Ionian islands, and of Malta in the Mediterranean. Russia received the grand duchy of Warsaw, which was raised to a kingdom of Poland, but was not united with Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine, the ancient

* His wife, Catherine of Würtemberg, was, in 1814, attacked during her flight, on her way through France, and robbed of her jewels.—*Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 130.

provinces of Poland standing beneath the sovereignty of Russia, and Finnland, for which Sweden received in exchange Norway, of which Denmark was forcibly dispossessed. Holland was annexed to the old Austrian Netherlands and elevated to a kingdom under William of Orange.* Switzerland remained a confederation of twenty-two cantons,† externally independent and neutral, internally somewhat aristocratic in tendency, the ancient oligarchy every where regaining their power. The Jesuits were reinstated by the pope. In Spain, Portugal, and Naples, the form of government prior to the Revolution was re-established by the ancient sovereigns on their restoration to their thrones.

Alsace and Lorraine, Switzerland and the new kingdom of the Netherlands, the provinces of Luxemburg excepted, were no longer regarded as forming part of Germany. Austria received Milan and Venice under the title of a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, the Illyrian provinces also as a kingdom, Venetian Dalmatia, the Tyrol‡, Vorarlberg, Salzburg, the Inn, and Hausruckviertel, and the part of Galicia ceded by her at an earlier period. The grand-duchy of Tuscany and the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Placentia were, moreover,

* William V., the expelled hereditary stadtholder, died in obscurity at Brunswick, A. D. 1806. His son, William, had, in 1802, received Fulda in compensation, but afterwards served Prussia, was, in 1806, taken prisoner with Möllendorf at Erfurt and afterwards set at liberty, served again, in 1809, under Austria, and then retired to England, whence he returned on the expulsion of the French to receive a crown, which he accepted with a good deal of assurance, complaining, at the same time, of the loss of his former possession, Fulda, a circumstance strongly commented upon by Stein in his letters to Gagern. William, in return for his elevation to a throne by the arms of Germany, closed the mouths of the Rhine against her.

† Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Glarus, Zug, Freyburg, Solothurn, Basle, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, St. Gall, the Grisons, Aargau, Constance, Tessin, the Vaud, Valais, Neuenburg, (Neufchatel,) Geneva. The nineteen cantons of 1805 remained *in statu quo*, only those of Valais, Neufchatel, and Geneva were confederated with them, and Pruntrut with the ancient bishopric of Basle were restored to Berne.

‡ The deed of possession of the 26th June, 1814, runs as follows: "Not by an arbitrary, despotic encroachment upon the order of things, but by the hands of the Providence that blessed the arms of your emperor and of the allied princes and by a holy alliance are you restored to the house of Austria."

restored to the collateral branches of the house of Habsburg.* ——Prussia received half of Saxony, the grand-duchy of Posen, Swedish-Pomerania,† a great portion of Westphalia, and almost the whole of the Lower Rhine from Mayence as far as Aix-la-Chapelle.‡ Since this period, Prussia is that, among all the states of Germany, which possesses the greatest number of German subjects, Austria, although more considerable in extent, containing a population of which by far the greater proportion is not German. Bavaria, in exchange for the provinces again ceded by her to Austria, received the province of Würzburg together with Aschaffenburg and the Upper Rhenish Pfalz under the title of Rhenish-Bavaria. Hanover received East Friżeland, which had hitherto been dependent upon Prussia. Out of this important province, which opened the North Sea to Prussia, was Hardenberg cajoled by the wily English. The electorates of Hesse, Brunswick, and Oldenburg were restored. Every thing else was allowed to subsist as at the time of the Rhenish confederation. All the petty princes and counts, then mediatized, continued to be so.

The ancient empire, instead of being re-established, was, on the 8th of June, 1815, replaced by a German confederation, composed of the thirty-nine German states that had escaped the general ruin; Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Baden, electoral Hesse, Darmstadt, Denmark on account of Holstein,§ the Netherlands on ac-

* Tuscany fell to Ferdinand, the former grand-duke of Würzburg; Modena to Francis, son of the deceased duke, Ferdinand; Parma and Placentia to Maria Louisa, the wife and widow of Napoleon.

† Not long before, in the treaty of Kiel, there had been question of bestowing Swedish-Pomerania upon Denmark; to this Prussia refused to accede and Denmark agreed to take 2,600,000 dollars in compensation. Prussia was also compelled to pay 3,000,000 and a half dollars to Sweden.

‡ Rehfues, the director of the circle, a Würtemberg Protestant, published a circular at Bonn, in which he promised full religious security to the Catholic inhabitants, whom he reminded of Prussia's having been "the last supporter of the order of Jesus."—*Allgemeine Zeitung of* 1814, *No.* 234.

§ Holstein alone, not Sleswick, was enumerated as belonging to the German confederation, although both duchies were long ago closely united by the *nexus socialis*, more particularly in the representation at the diet.

count of Luxemburg, Brunswick, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Nassau, Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Gotha, (where the reigning dynasty became extinct, and the duchy was partitioned among the other Saxon houses of the Ernestine line,) Saxe-Coburg, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Hildburghausen, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Holstein-Oldenburg, Anhalt-Dessau, Anhalt-Bernburg, Anhalt-Köthen, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Hohenzollern-Hechingen, Lichtenstein, Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Waldeck, Reuss the elder, and Reuss the younger branch,* Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe-Detmold, Hesse-Homburg: finally, the free towns, Lübeck, Frankfurt a M., Bremen, and Hamburg.† At Frankfurt a M. a permanent diet, consisting of plenipotentiaries from the thirty-nine states, was to hold its session. The votes were, however, so regulated that the eleven states of first rank alone held a full vote, the secondary states merely holding a half or a fourth part of a vote, as, for instance, all the Saxon duchies collectively, one vote; Brunswick and Nassau, one; the two Mecklenburgs, one; Oldenburg, Anhalt, and Schwarzburg, one; the petty princes of Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, Reuss, Lippe, and Waldeck, one; all the free towns, one; forming altogether in the diet seventeen votes. In constitutional questions relating to regulations of the confederation the *plenum* was to be allowed, that is, the six states of the highest rank were to have each four votes, the next five states each three, Brunswick, Schwerin, and Nassau, each two, and all the remaining princes without distinction, each one vote.‡—— Austria held the permanent presidency. In all resolutions

* The Reusses, formerly imperial governors of Plauen, diverged into so many branches, that, as early as 1664, they agreed to distinguish themselves by numbers, which at first amounted to thirty, but at a later period to a hundred, afterwards recommencing at number one. The family took the name of Reuss from the Russian wife of its founder, in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

† Hamburg had vainly petitioned for the restitution of her bank, of which she had been deprived by Davoust. She received merely a small portion of the general war-tax levied upon France.

‡ Austria and Prussia contain forty-two million inhabitants; the rest of Germany merely twelve million; the power of the two former stands consequently in proportion to that of the rest of Germany as forty-two to twelve or seven to two, whilst their votes in the diet stood not contrariwise, as two to seven, but as two to seventeen in the plenary assembly, and as two to fifteen in the lesser one.

relating to the fundamental laws, the organic regulations of the confederation, the *jura singulorum* and matters of religion, unanimity was required. All the members of the confederation bound themselves neither to enter into war nor into any foreign alliance against the confederation or any of its members. The thirteenth article declared, "Each of the confederated states will grant a constitution to the people." The sixteenth placed all Christian sects throughout the German confederation on an equality. The eighteenth granted freedom of settlement within the limits of the confederation, and promised "uniformity of regulation concerning the liberty of the press." The fortresses of Luxemburg, Mayence, and Landau were declared the common property of the confederation and occupied in common by their troops. A fourth fortress was to have been raised on the Upper Rhine with twenty millions of the French contribution money. It has not yet been erected.

This was the new constitution given to Germany. According to the treaty of Paris it could not be otherwise modelled, and it is explained by the foreign influence that then prevailed. The diet assembled at Frankfurt a M., and was opened by Count Buol-Schauenstein with a solemn address, which excited no enthusiasm. An orator in the American assembly at that time observed, "The non-development of the seed contained in Germany appears to be the common aim of a resolute policy."

All now united for the complete suppression of the German patriotic party. In the former Rhenish confederated states, it had been treated with open contempt* ever since Gentz had given the signal for persecution in Austria. Prussia, however, also drove all those who had most faithfully served her in her hour of need from her bosom. Stein was compelled to withdraw to Kappenberg, his country estate. Gruner was removed from office and sent as ambassador to Switzerland, where he died. The Rhenish Mercury, that

* Aretin, who, at the time of the Rhenish confederation, insolently mocked and had denounced every indication of German patriotism, ventured to say in his "Alemannia," in the beginning of 1817, "'The patriotic colours,' 'the voice of the people,' 'nationality,' 'the extirpation of foreign influence,' are words now forgotten, magic sounds that have lost their power."

had performed such great services to Prussia, was prohibited, and Görres was threatened with the house of correction.* All other papers of a patriotic tendency were also suppressed. In Jena, Oken and Luden, in Weimar, Wieland the younger, alone ventured for some time to give utterance to their liberal opinions, which were finally also reduced to silence.

Patriotic enthusiasm was, however, not so speedily suppressed amid the youthful students in the academies and universities. Jahn's gymnastic schools, (*Turnschulen,*) the members of which were distinguished by the German costume, a short black frock coat, a black cap, linen trowsers, a bare neck with turned-over shirt collar, extended far and wide and were in close connexion with the *Burschenschaften* of the universities. The prescribed object of these *Turnschulen* was the promotion of Christian, moral, German manners, the universal fraternization of all German students, the complete eradication of the provincialism and licence inherent in the various associations formed at the universities. They wore Jahn's German costume and always acted publicly, until their suppression, when the remaining members formed secret associations. On the 18th of October, 1817, the students of Jena, Halle, and Leipzig, and those of some of the more distant universities, assembled in order to solemnize the jubilee on the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, on the Wartburg, where, in imitation of Luther, they committed a number of servile works, inimical to the German cause, to the flames, as Görres at that time said, "filled with anger that the same reformation required of the church by Luther should be sanctioned, but at the same time refused, by the state." The black, red, and yellow tricolour was hoisted for the first time on this occasion. These were in reality the ancient colours of the empire and were regarded as such by the patriotic students, but were purposely looked upon by the French and their adherents in Germany as an imitation of the tricoloured flag of the French republic. The festival solemnized on the Wartburg was speedily succeeded by others. The *Turner,*

* By Sack, the government commissary, who even confiscated the Rhenish Mercury, an earlier and unprohibited paper, and arrested the printer, against which Görres violently protested in a letter addressed to Sack. Görres made a triumphant defence before the tribunal at Treves, and observed, "Strange that the most violent enemy to France should seek the protection of French courts!"

more particularly at Berlin and Breslau, rendered themselves conspicuous not only by their dress but by their insolence, boys even of the tenderest years putting themselves forward as reformers of the government and of society, and singing the most blood-thirsty songs of liberty. The Prussian government interfered, and the gymnastic exercises, so well suited to the subjects of a warlike state, were once more prohibited.

At the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, Stourdza, the Russian counsellor of state, a Wallachian by birth, presented a memorial in which the spirit of the German universities was described as revolutionary. The *Burschenschaft* of Jena sent him a challenge. Kotzebue, the Russian counsellor of state and celebrated dramatist, at length published a weekly paper in which he turned every indication of German patriotism to ridicule, and exercised his wit upon the individual eccentricities of the students affecting the old German costume, of precocious boys and doting professors. The rage of the galled universities rose to a still higher pitch on the discovery, made and incontestably proved by Luden, that Kotzebue sent secret bulletins, filled with invective and suspicion, to St. Petersburg. To execrate Kotzebue had become so habitual at the universities that a young man, Sand from Wunsiedel, a theological student of Jena, noted for piety and industry, took the fanatical resolution to free, or at least to wipe off a blot from his country, by the assassination of an enemy whose importance he, in the delusion of hatred, vastly overrated; and he accordingly went, in 1819, to Mannheim, plunged his dagger into Kotzebue's heart, and then attempted his own life, but only succeeded in inflicting a slight wound. He was beheaded in the ensuing year. Löning, the apothecary, probably excited by Sand's example, also attempted the life of the president of Nassau, Ibell, who however seized him, and he committed suicide in prison.

These events occasioned a congress at Carlsbad in 1819, which took the state of Germany into deliberation, placed each of the universities under the supervision of a government officer, suppressed the *Burschenschaft*, prohibited their colours, and fixed a central board of scrutiny at Mayence,* which

* The names of these inquisitors were, Schwarz, Grano, Hörmann, Bar, Pfister, Preusschen, Moussel.

acted on the presupposition of the existence of a secret and general conspiracy for the purposes of assassination and revolution, and of Sand's having acted not from personal fanaticism and religious aberration, but as the agent of some unknown superiors in some new and mysterious tribunal. This inquisition was carried on for years and a crowd of students peopled the prisons; conspiracies perilous to the state were, however, no where discovered, but simply a great deal of ideal enthusiasm. The elder men in the universities, who, either in their capacity as tutors or authors, had fed the enthusiasm of the youthful students, were also removed from their situations. Jahn was arrested, Arndt was suspended at Bonn and Fries at Jena; Görres, who had perseveringly published the most violent pamphlets, was compelled to take refuge in Switzerland, which also offered an asylum to Dewette, the Berlin professor of theology, who had been deprived of his chair on account of a letter addressed by him to Sand's mother. Oken, the great naturalist, who refused to give up "Isis," a periodical publication, also withdrew to Switzerland. Numbers of the younger professors went to America.* The solemnization of the October festival was also prohibited, and the triumphal monument on the field of Leipzig was demolished.

CCLXV. *The new constitutions.*

GERMANY had, notwithstanding her triumph, regained neither her ancient unity nor her former power, but still continued to be merely a confederation of states, bound together by no firm tie and regarded with contempt by their more powerful neighbours. The German confederation did not even include the whole of the provinces whose population was distinguished as German by the use of the German language. Several of the provinces of Germany were still beneath a foreign sceptre; Switzerland and the Netherlands had declared themselves distinct from the rest of Germany, which, hitherto submissive to France, was in danger of falling beneath the influence of Russia, who ceaselessly sought to entangle her by diplomatic wiles.

* Charles Follen, brother to the poet Louis Adolf Follen, private teacher of law at Jena, a young man of great spirit and talent, who at that period exercised great influence over the youth of Germany, was wrecked, in 1840, in a steamer in North America and drowned.

There were still, however, men existing in Germany who hoped to compensate the loss of the external power of their country by the internal freedom that had been so lavishly promised to the people on the general summons to the field. The proclamation of Calisch and the German federative act guaranteed the grant of constitutions. The former Rhenish confederated princes, nevertheless, alone found it to their interest to carry this promise into effect, and, in a manner, formed a second alliance with France by their imitation of the newly introduced French code and by the establishment, in their own territories, of two chambers, one of peers, the other of deputies, similar to those of France; measures by which, at that period of popular excitement, they also regained the popularity deservedly lost by them at an earlier period throughout the rest of Germany, the more so, the less the inclination manifested by Austria and Prussia to grant the promised constitutions. Enslaved Illuminatism characterizes this new zeal in favour of internal liberty and constitutional governments, to denote which the novel term of Liberalism was borrowed from France. Liberty was ever on the tongues—of the most devoted servants of the state. The ancient church and the nobility were attacked with incredible mettle—in order to suit the purposes of ministerial caprice. Prussia and Austria were loudly blamed for not keeping pace with the times—with the intent of favourably contrasting the ancient policy of the Rhenish confederation. None, at that period, surpassed the ministers belonging to the old school of Illuminatism and Napoleonism in liberalism, but no sooner did the deputies of the people attempt to realize their liberal ideas than they started back in dismay.

The first example of this kind was given by Frederick Augustus, duke of Nassau, as early as the September of 1814. Ibell, the president, who reigned with unlimited power over Nassau, drew up a constitution which has been termed a model of "despotism under a constitutional form." The whole of the property of the state still continuing to be the private property of the duke, and his right arbitrarily to increase the number of members belonging to the first chamber, and by their votes to annul every resolution passed by the second chamber, rendered the whole constitution illusory. Trombetta, one of the deputies, voluntarily renounced his seat, an example that was followed by several others.——

The second constitution granted was that bestowed upon the Netherlands in 1815, by King William, who established such an unequal representation in the chambers between the Belgians and Dutch as to create great dissatisfaction among the former, who, in revenge, again affected the French party. This was succeeded, in 1816, by the petty constitutions of Waldeck, Weimar, and Frankfurt a M.——Maximilian, king of Bavaria, seemed, in 1817, to announce another system by the dismissal of his minister, Montgelas, and, in 1818, bestowed a new constitution upon Bavaria; but the old abuses in the administration remained uneradicated; a civil and military state unproportioned to the revenue, the petty despotism of government officers and heavy imposts, still weighed upon the people, and the constitution itself was quickly proved illusory, the veto of the first chamber annulling the first resolution passed by the second chamber. Professor Behr of Würzburg, upon this, energetically protested against the first chamber, and, on the refusal of the second chamber to vote for the maintenance of the army on so high a footing, unless the soldiery were obliged to take the oath on the constitution, it was speedily dissolved.——In Baden, the Grand-duke Charles expired, A. D. 1818, after having caused a constitution to be drawn up, which Louis, his uncle and successor, carried into effect. Louis having, however, previously, and without the consent of the people, entered into a stipulation with the nobility, to whom he had granted an edict extremely favourable to their interests, Winter, the Heidelberg bookseller, a member of the second chamber, demanded its abrogation. The answer was, the dissolution of the chamber, personal inquisition and intimidation, and the publication of an extremely severe edict of censure, against which, in 1820, Professor von Rotteck of Freiburg, supported by the poet Hebel and by the Freiherr von Wessenberg, administrator of the bishopric of Constance, protested, but in vain.——At the same time, that is, in 1818, Hildburghausen, and even the petty principality of Lichtenstein, which merely contains two square miles and a population amounting to five thousand souls, also received a constitution, which not a little contributed to turn the whole affair into ridicule.——To these succeeded, in 1819, the constitutions of Hanover and Lippe-Detmold, the former as aristocratic as possible, completely in

the spirit of olden times, solely dictated and carried into effect by the nobility and government officers. The sittings of the chambers, consequently, continued to be held in secret.—— The dukes of Mecklenburg abolished feudal servitude, which existed in no other part of Germany, in 1820.——In Darmstadt, the constitution was granted by the good-natured, venerable Grand-duke Louis, (whose attention was chiefly devoted to the opera,) after the impatient advocates, who had collected subscriptions in the Odenwald to petitions praying for the speedy bestowal of the promised constitution, had been arrested, and an insurrection that consequently ensued among the peasantry had been quelled by force.——Petty constitutions were, moreover, granted, in 1821, to Coburg, and, in 1829, to Meiningen. The Gotha-Altenburg branch of the ducal house of Saxony became extinct in 1825 in the person of Frederick, the last duke, the brother of Duke Augustus Emilius, a great patron of the arts and sciences, deceased, A. D. 1822. Gotha, consequently, lapsed to Coburg, Altenburg to Hildburghausen, and Hildburghausen to Meiningen.

In Würtemberg, the dissatisfaction produced by the ancient despotism of the government was also to be speedily appeased by the grant of a constitutional charter. The king, Frederick, convoked the Estates, to whom he, on the 15th of March, 1815, solemnly delivered the newly enacted constitution. But here, as elsewhere, was the government inclined to grant a mere illusory boon. The Estates rejected the constitution, without reference to its contents, simply owing to the formal reason of its being bestowed by the prince and being consequently binding on one side alone, instead of being a stipulation between the prince and the people, and moreover because the ancient constitution of Würtemberg, which had been abrogated by force and in direct opposition to the will of the Estates, was still in legal force. The old Würtemberg party alone could naturally take their footing upon their ancient rights, but the new Würtemberg party, the mediatized princes of the empire, the counts and barons of the empire, and the imperial free towns, nay, even the Agnati of the reigning house,* all of whom had suffered

* The king bitterly reproached his brother Henry, to whom he said, "You have accused me to my peasantry."—*Pfister, History of the Constitution of Würtemberg.*

more or less under Napoleon's iron rule, ranged themselves on their side. The deputy, Zahn of Calw, drew a masterly picture of the state of affairs at that period, in which he pitilessly disclosed every reigning abuse. The king, thus vigorously and unanimously opposed, was constrained to yield, and the most prolix negotiations, in which the citizen deputies, headed by the advocate, Weisshaar, were supported by the nobility against the government, commenced.

The affair was, it may be designedly, dragged on *ad infinitum* until the death of the king in 1816, when his son and successor, William, who had gained a high reputation as a military commander and had rendered himself extremely popular, zealously began the work of conciliation. He not only instantly abolished the abuses of the former government, as, for instance, in the game law,* but, in 1817, delivered a new constitution to the Estates. Article 337 was somewhat artfully drawn up, but in every point the constitution was as liberal as a constitutional charter could possibly be. But the Estates refused to accept of liberty as a boon, and rejected this constitution on the same formal grounds upon which they had rejected the preceding one. The Estates were again upheld by a grateful public, and the few deputies, more particularly Cotta and Griesinger, who had defended the new constitution on account of its liberality and who regarded form as immaterial, became the objects of public animadversion. The populace broke the windows of the house inhabited by the liberal-minded minister, von Wangenheim. The poet Uhland greatly distinguished himself as a warm upholder of the ancient rights of the people. † The king instantly dis-

* Pfister mentions in his History of the Constitution of Würtemberg, that merely in the superior bailiwick of Heidenheim the game duties amounted, in 1814, to 20,000 florins, and 5293 acres of taxed ground lay uncultivated on account of the damage done by the game, and that in March, 1815, one bailiwick was obliged to furnish twenty-one thousand five hundred and eighty-four men and three thousand two hundred and thirty-seven horses for a single hunt.

† Colonel von Massenbach, of the Prussian service, who has so miserably described the battle of Jena and the surrender of Prentzlow in which he acted so miserable a part, and who had in his native Würtemberg embraced the aristocratic party, was delivered by the free town of Frankfurt, within whose walls he resided, up to the Prussian government, which he threatened to compromise by the publication of some letters. He died within the fortress of Cüstrin.

solved the Estates, but at the same time declared his intention to guarantee to the people, without a constitution, the rights he had intended constitutionally to confer upon them; to establish an equal system of taxation, and "to eradicate bureaucracy, that curse upon the country." The good-will displayed on both sides led to fresh negotiations, and a third constitution was at length drawn up by a committee, composed partly of members of the government, partly of members belonging to the Estates, and, in 1819, was taken into deliberation and passed by the reassembled Estates. This constitution, nevertheless, fell far below the mark to which it had been raised by public expectation, partly on account of the retention, owing to ancient prejudice, of the permanent committee and its oligarchical influence, partly on account of the too great and permanent concessions made to the nobility in return for their momentary aid,* partly on account of the extreme haste that marked the concluding deliberations of the Estates, occasioned by their partly unfounded dread of interference on the part of the congress then assembled at Carlsbad.

In Würtemberg, however, as elsewhere, the policy of the government was deeply imbued with the general characteristics of the time. Notwithstanding the constitution, notwithstanding the guarantee given by the federative act, liberty of the press did not exist. List, the deputy from Reutlingen, was, for having ventured to collect subscriptions to petitions, brought before the criminal court, expelled the chamber by his intimidated brother-deputies, took refuge in Switzerland, whence he returned to be imprisoned for some time in the fortress of Asberg, and was finally permitted to emigrate to North America, whence he returned at a later period [A. D. 1825] in the capacity of consul. Liesching, the editor of the German Guardian, whose liberty of speech

* The mediatized princes and counts of the empire sat in the first chamber, the barons of the empire in the second. The prelates, once so powerful, lost, on the other hand, together with the church property, in the possession of which they were not reinstated, also most of their influence. Instead of the fourteen aristocratic and independent prelates, six only were appointed by the monarch to seats in the second chamber. Government officers were also eligible in this chamber, which ere long fell entirely under their influence.

was silenced by command of the German confederation, also became an inmate of the fortress of Asberg.

In Hesse and Brunswick, all the old abuses practised in the petty courts in the eighteenth century were revived. William of Hesse-Cassel returned, on the fall of Napoleon, to his domains. True to his whimsical saying, "I have slept during the last seven years," he insisted upon replacing every thing in Hesse exactly on its former footing. In one particular alone was his vanity inconsistent: notwithstanding his hatred towards Napoleon, he retained the title of Prince Elector, bestowed upon him by Napoleon's favour, although it had lost all significance, there being no longer any emperor to elect.* He turned the hand of time back seven years, degraded the counsellors raised to that dignity by Jerome to their former station as clerks, captains to lieutenants, etc., all, in fact, to the station they had formerly occupied, even re-introduced into the army the fashion of wearing powder and queues, prohibited all those not bearing an official title to be addressed as "Herr," and re-established the soccage dues abolished by Jerome. This attachment to old abuses was associated with the most insatiable avarice. He reduced the government bonds to one third, retook possession of the lands sold during Jerome's reign, without granting any compensation to the holders, compelled the country to pay his son's debts to the amount of two hundred thousand rix-dollars, lowered the amount of pay to such a degree that a lieutenant received but five rix-dollars per mensem, and offered to sell a new constitution to the Estates at the low price of four million rix-dollars, which he afterwards lowered to two millions and a tax for ten years upon liquors. This shameful bargain being rejected by the Estates, the constitution fell to the ground, and the prince elector practised the most unlimited despotism. Discontent was stifled by imprisonment. Two officers, Huth and Rotsmann, who had got up a petition in favour of their class, and the Herr von Gohr, who by chance gave a private fete whilst the prince was suffering from a sudden attack of illness, were among the victims. The purchasers of the crown lands vainly appealed to the federative assembly for redress, for the prince

* He endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade the allied powers to bestow upon him the royal dignity.

elector "refused the mediation of the federative assembly until it had been authorized by an organic law drawn up with the co-operation of the prince elector himself."——This prince expired A. D. 1821, and was succeeded by his son, William II., who abolished the use of hair-powder and queues, but none of the existing abuses, and demonstrated no inclination to grant a constitution. He was, moreover, the slave of his mistress, Countess Reichenbach, and on ill terms with his consort, a sister of the king of Prussia, and with his son. Anonymous and threatening letters being addressed to this prince with a view of inducing him to favour the designs of the writer, he had recourse to the severest measures for the discovery of the guilty party; numbers of persons were arrested, and travellers instinctively avoided Cassel. It was at length discovered that Manger, the head of the police, a court favourite, was the author of the letters.

Similar abuses were revived by the house of Brunswick. It is unhappily impossible to leave unmentioned the conduct of Caroline, princess of Brunswick, consort to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., king of England. Although this German princess had the good fortune to be protected by the Whig party and by the people against the king and the Tory ministry, she proved a disgrace to her supporters by the scandalous familiarity in which she lived in Italy with her chamberlain, the Italian, Pergami. The sympathy with which she was treated at the time of the congress was designedly exaggerated by the Whigs for the purpose of giving the greatest possible publicity to the errors of the monarch. Caroline of Brunswick was declared innocent and expired shortly after her trial, in 1821.

Charles, the hereditary duke of Brunswick, son to the duke who had so gallantly fallen at Quatre-bras, was under the guardianship of the king of England. A constitution was bestowed in 1820 upon this petty territory, which was governed by the minister, Von Schmidt-Phiseldek. The youthful duke took the reins of government in his nineteenth year. Of a rash and violent disposition and misled by evil associates, he imagined that he had been too long restricted from assuming the government, accused his well-deserving minister of having attempted to prolong his minority, posted handbills for his apprehension as a common delinquent, de-

nied all his good offices, and subverted the constitution. He was surrounded by base intriguers in the person of Bosse, the counsellor of state, formerly the servile tool of Napoleon's despotism, of Frike, the Aulic counsellor, "whose pliant quill was equal to any task when injustice had to be glossed over," of the adventurer, Klindworth, and of Bitter, the head of the chancery, who conducted the financial speculations. Frike, in contempt of justice, tore up the judgment passed by the court of justice in favour of the venerable Herr von Sierstorff, whom he had accused of high treason. Herr von Cramm, by whom Frike was, in the name of the Estates, accused of this misdemeanour before the federative assembly, was banished, a surgeon, who attended him, was put upon his defence, and an accoucheur, named Grimm, who had basely refused to attend upon Cramm's wife, was presented with a hundred dollars. Häberlin, the novelist, who had been justly condemned to twenty years' imprisonment with hard labour for his civil misdemeanours, was, on the other hand, liberated for publishing something in the duke's favour. Bitter conducted himself with the most open profligacy, sold all the demesnes, appropriated the sum destined for the redemption of the public debt, and at the same time levied the heavy imposts with unrelenting severity. The federative assembly passed judgment against the duke solely in reference to his attacks upon the king of England.

CCLXVI. *The European congress. The German Customs' Union.*

THE great political drama enacting in Europe excited at this time the deepest attention throughout Germany. In almost every country a struggle commenced between liberalism and the measures introduced on the fall of Napoleon. In France more particularly it systematically and gradually undermined the government of the Bourbons, and the cry of liberty that resounded throughout France once more found an echo in Germany.

The terrible war was forgotten. The French again became the objects of the admiration and sympathy of the radical party in Germany, and the spirit of opposition, here and there demonstrated in the German chambers, gave rise, notwithstanding its impotence, to precautionary measures on

the part of the federative governments. In the winter of 1819, a German federative congress, of which Prince Metternich was the grand motor, assembled at Vienna for the purpose, after the utter annihilation of the patriots, of finally checking the future movements of the liberals, principally in the provincial diets. The Viennese Act of 1820 contains closer definitions of the Federative Act, of which the more essential object was the exclusion of the various provincial diets from all positive interference in the general affairs of Germany, and the increase of the power of the different princes vis-à-vis to their provincial diets by a guarantee of aid on the part of the confederates.

During the sitting of this congress, on new-year's day, 1820, the liberal party in Spain revolted against their ungrateful sovereign, Ferdinand VII., who exercised the most fearful tyranny over the nation that had so unhesitatingly shed its blood in defence of his throne. This example was shortly afterwards followed by the Neapolitans, who were also dissatisfied with the conduct of their sovereign. Prince Metternich instantly brought about a congress at Troppau. The czar, Alexander, who had views upon the East and was no stranger to the heterarchical party which, under the guidance of Prince Ypsilanti, prepared a revolution in Greece (which actually broke out) against the Turks, was at first unwilling to give his assent unconditionally to the interference of Austria, but on being, in 1821, to his great surprise informed by Prince Metternich of the existence of a revolutionary spirit in one of the regiments of the Russian guard, freely assented to all the measures proposed by that minister.* The new congress held at Laibach, A. D. 1821, was followed by the entrance of the Austrians under Frimont into Italy. The cowardly Neapolitans fled without firing a shot; and the Piedmontese, who unexpectedly revolted to Frimont's rear, were, after a short encounter with the Austrians under Bubna at Novara, defeated and reduced to submission. The Greeks, whom Russia now no longer ventured openly to uphold, had, in the mean time, also risen in open insurrection. The affairs of Spain were still in an unsettled state. The new congress held at Verona, in 1822, however, decided the fate of both these countries. Prince Hardenberg, the Prussian minister, expired at Genoa on his return home, and Lord Castlereagh,

* Vide Binder's Prince Metternich.

the English ambassador, cut his throat with his penknife, in a fit of frenzy, supposed to have been induced by the sense of his heavy responsibility. At this congress the principle of legitimacy was maintained with such strictness, that even the revolt of the Greeks against the long and cruel tyranny of the Turks was, notwithstanding the *Christian spirit of the Holy Alliance* and the political advantage secured to Russia and Austria by the subversion of the Turkish empire, treated as rebellion against the legitimate authority of the Porte and strongly discouraged. A French army was, on the same grounds, despatched with the consent of the Bourbon into Spain, and Ferdinand was reinstated in his legitimate tyranny, A. D. 1823.

Russia, in a note addressed to the whole of the confederated states of Germany, demanded at the same time a declaration on their parts to the effect that the late proceedings of the great European powers at Verona "were in accordance with the well-understood interests of the people." Every member of the federative assembly at Frankfort gave his assent, with the exception of the Freiherr von Wangenheim, the envoy from Würtemberg, who declaring that his instructions did not warrant his voting upon the question, the ambassadors from the two Hesses made a similar declaration. This occasioned the dismissal of the Freiherr von Wangenheim; and the illegal publication of a Würtemberg despatch, in which the non-participation of the German confederation in the resolutions passed by the congresses, to which their assent was afterwards demanded, was treated of, occasioned a second dismissal, that of Count Winzingerode, the Würtemberg minister. In the July of 1824, the federal diet resolved to give its support to the monarchical principle in the constitutional states, and to maintain the Carlsbad resolutions referring to censorship and to the universities. The Mayence committee remained sitting until A. D. 1828.

On the sudden decease of Alexander, the czar of all the Russias, amid the southern steppes, a revolution induced by the nobility broke out at Petersburg, but was suppressed by Alexander's brother and successor, the emperor Nicolas I. Nicolas had wedded Charlotte, the eldest daughter of the king of Prussia. This energetic sovereign instantly invaded Persia and rendered that country dependent upon his em-

pire without any attempt being made by the Tory party in England and Austria to hinder the aggrandizement of Russia, every attack directed against her being regarded as an encouragement to liberalism. Russia consequently seized this opportunity to turn her arms against Turkey, and, in the ensuing year, a Russian force under Count Diebitsch, a Silesian, crossed the Balkan (Hæmus) and penetrated as far as Adrianople; whilst another *corps d'armée*, under Count Paskiewicz, advanced from the Caucasus into Asia Minor and took Erzerum. The fall of Constantinople seemed near at hand, when Austria and England for the first time intervened and declared that, notwithstanding their sympathy with the absolute principles on which Russia rested, they would not permit the seizure of Constantinople. France expressed her readiness to unite with Russia and to fall upon the Austrian rear in case troops were sent against the Russians.* Prussia, however, intervened, and General Müffling was despatched to Adrianople, where, in 1829, a treaty was concluded, by which Russia, although for the time compelled to restore the booty already accumulated, gained several considerable advantages, being granted possession of the most important mountain strongholds and passes of Asia Minor, a right to occupy and fortify the mouths of the Danube so important to Austria and to extend her Ægis over Moldavia and Wallachia.

In the midst of this wretched period, which brought fame to Russia and deep dishonour upon Germany, there still gleamed one ray of hope; the Customs' Union was proposed by some of the German princes for the more intimate union of German interests.

Maximilian of Bavaria, a prince whose amiable manners and character rendered him universally beloved, expired A. D. 1825. His son, Louis, the foe to French despotism, a German patriot and a zealous patron of the arts, declared himself, on his coronation, the warm and sincere upholder of the constitutional principle and excited general enthusiasm. His first measures on assuming the government were, the reduction of the royal household and of the army with a view to the relief of the country from the heavy imposts, the re-

* Official report of the Russian ambassador, Count Pozzo di Borgo, from Paris, of the 14th of December, 1828.

moval of the university of Landshut to Munich, and the enrichment on an extensive scale of the institutions of art. The union of the galleries of Düsseldorf and Mannheim with that of Munich, the collection of valuable antiques and pictures, for instance, that of the old German paintings collected by the brothers Boisserée in Cologne during the French usurpation, the academy of painting under the direction of the celebrated Cornelius, the new public buildings raised by Klenze, among which the Glyptothek, the Pinakothek, the great Königsbau or royal residence, the Ludwigschurch, the Auerchurch, the Arcades, etc., may be more particularly designated, rendered Munich the centre of German art. This sovereign also founded at Ratisbon the Walhalla, a building destined for the reception of the busts of all the celebrated men to which Germany has given birth. The predilection of this royal amateur for classic antiquity excited within his bosom the warmest sympathy with the fate of the modern Greeks, then in open insurrection against their Turkish oppressors, and whom he alone, among all the princes of Germany, aided in the hour of their extremest need.——With the same spirit that dictated his poems, in which he so repeatedly lamented the want of unity in Germany, he was the first to propose the union of her material interests. Germany unhappily resembled, and indeed immediately after the war of liberation, as De Pradt, the French writer, maliciously observed, even in a mercantile point of view, a menagerie whose inhabitants watched each other through a grating. Vainly had the commercial class of Frankfurt a M. presented a petition, in 1819, to the confederation, praying for free trade, for the fulfilment of the nineteenth article of the federal act. Their well-grounded complaint remained unheard. The non-fulfilment of the treaty relating to the free navigation of the Rhine to the sea was most deeply felt. In the first treaty concluded at Paris, the royal dignity and the extension of the Dutch territory had been generously granted to the king of the Netherlands under the express proviso of the free navigation of the Rhine to the sea. The papers relating to this transaction had been drawn up in French, and the ungrateful Dutch perfidiously gave the words "jusqu' à la mer" their most literal construction, merely "as far as the sea," and as the French, moreover, possessed a voice in the matter on ac-

count of the Upper Rhine, and the German federal states were unable to give an unanimous verdict, innumerable committees were held and acts were drawn up without producing any result favourable to the trade of Germany.

Affairs stood thus, when, shortly after Louis's accession to the throne of Bavaria, negotiations having for object the settlement of a commercial treaty took place between him and William, king of Würtemberg. This example was imitated by Prussia, which at first merely formed an union with Darmstadt; afterwards by Hesse, Hanover, Saxony, etc., by which a central German union was projected. This union was, however, unable to stand between that of Würtemberg and Bavaria, and that of Prussia and Darmstadt. The German Customs' Union was carried into effect in 1828. An annual meeting of German naturalists had at that time been arranged under the auspices of Oken, the great naturalist, and at the meeting held at Berlin, A. D. 1828, the Freiherr von Cotta, by whom the moral and material interests of Germany have been greatly promoted, drew up the first plan for a junction of the commercial union of Southern Germany with that of the North, as the first step to the future liberation of Germany from all internal commercial restrictions. The zeal with which he carried this great plan into effect gained the confidence of the different governments, and he not only succeeded in combining the two older unions, but also in gradually embodying with them the rest of the German states.

The attachment of King Louis to ancient Catholicism was extremely remarkable. He began to restore some of the monasteries, and several professors inclined to Ultramontanism and to Catholic mysticism, the most distinguished among whom was Görres, the Prussian exile, assembled at the new university at Munich. Here and there appeared a pious enthusiast. Shortly after the restoration, a peasant from the Pfalz, named Adam Müller, began to prophesy, and Madame von Krüdener, a Hanoverian, to preach the necessity of public penance; both these persons gained the ear of exalted personages, and Madame von Krüdener more particularly is said not a little to have conduced to the piety displayed by the emperor Alexander during the latter years of his life. At Bamberg, Prince Alexander von Hohenlohe, then a young

man, had the folly to attempt the performance of miracles, until the police interfered, and he received a high ecclesiastical office in Hungary. In Austria, the Ligorians, followers in the footsteps of the Jesuits, haunted the vicinity of the throne. The conversion of Count Stolberg and of the Swiss, Von Haller, to the Catholic church, created the greatest sensation. The former, a celebrated poet, simple and amiable, in no way merited the shameless outbursts of rage of his old friend, Voss; Haller, on the other hand, brought forward in his "Restoration of Political Science," such a decided theory in favour of secession as to inspire a sentiment of dread at his consistency. The conversion of Ferdinand, prince of Anhalt-Köthen to the Catholic church, A. D. 1825, excited far less attention.

In France, where the Bourbons were completely guided by the Jesuits, by whose aid they could alone hope to suppress the revolutionary spirit of their subjects, the reaction in favour of Catholicism had assumed a more decided character than in Germany. Louis XVIII. was succeeded by his brother, the Count d'Artois, under the name of Charles X., a venerable man seventy years of age, who, notwithstanding his great reverses, had "neither learnt nor forgotten anything." Polignac, his incapable and imperious minister, the tool of the Jesuits, had, since 1829, impugned every national right, and, at length, ventured by the ordonnances of the 25th July, 1830, to subvert the constitution. During three days, from the 27th to the 30th of July, the greatest confusion reigned in Paris; the people rose in thousands; murderous conflicts took place in the streets between them and the royal troops, who were driven from every quarter, and the king was expelled. The chambers met, declared the elder branch of the house of Bourbon (Charles X., his son, the Dauphin, Duke d'Angoulême, and his grandson, the youthful Duke de Bordeaux, the son of the murdered Duke de Berri) to have forfeited the throne, but at the same time allowed them unopposed to seek an asylum in England, and elected Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, the son of the notorious Jacobin, the head of the younger line of the house of Bourbon and the grand-master of the society of Freemasons, king of the French. The rights of the chambers and of the people were also extended by an appendix to the charta signed by Louis XVIII.

The revolution of July was the signal for all discontented subjects throughout Europe to gain, either by force or by legal opposition, their lost or sighed-for rights. In October, the constitutional party in Spain attempted to overturn the despotic rule of Ferdinand VII. In November, the prime minister of England, the far-famed Duke of Wellington, was compelled by the people to yield his seat to Earl Grey, a man of more liberal principles, who commenced the great work of reform in the constitution and administration of Great Britain. During this month, a general insurrection took place in Poland: the grand-duke, Constantine, was driven out of Warsaw, and Poland declared herself independent. A great part of Germany was also convulsed: and a part of the ill-raised fabric, erected by the statesmen of 1815, fell tottering to the ground.

CCLXVII. *The Belgian Revolution.*

A NATION'S self-forgetfulness is ever productive of national disgrace. The Netherlands were torn from the empire and placed partly beneath the tyranny of Spain, partly beneath the Ægis of France; the dominion of Austria, at a later period, merely served to rouse their provincial spirit, and, during their subsequent annexation to France, the French element decidedly gained the preponderance among the population. When, in 1815, these provinces fell under the rule of Holland, it was hoped that the German element would again rise. But Holland is not Germany. Estranged provinces are alone to be regained by means of their incorporation with an empire imbued with one distinct national spirit; the subordination of one province to another but increases national antipathy and estrangement. Holland, by an ungrateful, inimical policy, unfortunately strove to separate herself from Germany.* And yet Holland owes her whole prosperity to Germany. There is her market; thence does she draw her immense wealth; the loss of that market for her colo-

* "The Netherlands formed, nevertheless, but a weak bulwark to Germany. Internal disunion, superfluous fortresses, a weak army. On the one side, a witless, wealthy, haughty aristocracy, an influential and ignorant clergy; on the other, civic pride, capelocratic pettiness, Calvinistic *brusquerie*. The policy pursued by the king was inimical to Germany."—*Stein's Letters.*

nial productions, would prove her irredeemable ruin. Her sovereign, driven into distant exile, was restored to her by the arms of Germany and generously endowed with royalty. Holland, in return for all these benefits, deceitfully deprived Germany of the free navigation of the Rhine to the sea guaranteed to her by the federal act and assumed the right of fixing the price of all goods, whether imported to or exported from Germany. The whole of Germany was, in this unprecedented manner, rendered doubly tributary to the petty state of Holland.

Belgium, annexed to this secondary state instead of being incorporated with great and liberal Germany, necessarily remained a stranger to any influence calculated to excite her sympathy with the general interests of Germany. Cut off, as heretofore, from German influence, she retained, in opposition to the Dutch, a preponderance of the old Spanish and modern French element in her population. Priests and liberals, belonging to the French school, formed an opposition party against the king, who, on his side, rested his sole support upon the Dutch, whom he favoured in every respect. Count Broglio, archbishop of Ghent, first began the contest by refusing to take the oath on the constitution. Violence was resorted to and he fled the country. The impolicy of the government in affixing his name to the pillory merely served to increase the exasperation of the Catholics. Hence their acquiescence with the designs of the Jesuits, their opposition to the foundation of a philosophical academy, independent of the clergy, at Louvain. The fact of the population of Belgium being to that of Holland as three to two, and the number of its representatives in the states-general being as four to seven, of few, if any, Belgians being allowed to enter the service of the state, the army, or the navy, still further added to the popular discontent. The gross manners of the minister, Van Maanen, also increased the evil. As early as January, 1830, eight liberal Belgian deputies were deprived of their offices, and De Potter, with some others, who had ventured to defend them by means of the press, were banished the kingdom under a charge of high treason.

The Dutch majority in the states-general, notwithstanding its devotion to the king, rejected the ten years' budget on the ground of its affording too long a respite to ministerial responsibility, and protested against the levy of Swiss troops. Slave-trade in the colonies was also abolished in 1818.

The position of the Netherlands, which, Luxemburg excepted, did not appertain to the German confederation, continually exposed her, on account of Belgium, to be attacked on the land side by France, on that of the sea by her ancient commercial foe, England, and induced the king to form a close alliance with Russia. His son, William of Orange, married a sister of the emperor Alexander.

The colonies did not regain their former prosperity. The Dutch settlement at Batavia with difficulty defended itself against the rebellious natives of Sumatra and Java.

The revolution in Paris had an electric effect upon the irritated Belgians. On the 25th of August, 1830, Auber's opera, "The Dumb Girl of Portici," the revolt of Masaniello in Naples, was performed at the Brussels theatre and inflamed the passions of the audience to such a degree, that, on quitting the theatre, they proceeded to the house of Libry, the servile newspaper editor, and entirely destroyed it: the palace of the minister, Van Maanen, shared the same fate. The citizens placed themselves under arms, and sent a deputation to the Hague to lay their grievances before the king. The entire population meanwhile rose in open insurrection, and the whole of the fortresses, Maestricht and the citadel of Antwerp alone excepted, fell into their hands. William of Orange, the crown-prince, ventured unattended among the insurgents at Brussels and proposed, as a medium of peace, the separation of Belgium from Holland in a legislative and administrative sense. The king also made an apparent concession to the wishes of the people by the dismissal of Van Maanen, but shortly afterwards declared his intention not to yield, disavowed the step taken by his son, and allowed some Belgian deputies to be insulted at the Hague. A fanatical commotion instantly took place at Brussels; the moderate party in the civic guard was disarmed, and the populace made preparations for desperate resistance. On the 25th of September, Prince Frederick, second son to the king of Holland, entered Brussels with a large body of troops, but encountered barricades and a heavy fire in the Park, the Place Royal, and along the Boulevards. An immense crowd, chiefly composed of the people of Liege and of peasants dressed in the blue smock of the country, had assembled for the purpose of aiding in the defence of the city. The contest, accompanied by destruction of the dwelling-houses and by pillage, lasted five days. The

Dutch were accused of practising the most horrid cruelties upon the defenceless inhabitants and of thereby heightening the popular exasperation. At length, on the 27th of September, the prince was compelled to abandon the city. On the 5th of October, Belgium declared her independence. De Potter returned and placed himself at the head of the provisional government. The Prince of Orange recognised the absolute separation of Belgium from Holland in a proclamation published at Antwerp, but was, nevertheless, constrained to quit the country. Antwerp fell into the hands of the insurgents; the citadel, however, refused to surrender, and Chassé, the Dutch commandant, caused the magnificent city to be bombarded, and the well-stored entrepot, the arsenal, and about sixty or seventy houses to be set on fire, during the night of the 27th of October, 1830.* The cruelties perpetrated by the Dutch were bitterly retaliated upon them by the Belgian populace. On the 10th of November, however, a national Belgian congress met, in which the moderate party gained the upper hand, principally owing to the influence of the clergy. De Potter's plan for the formation of a Belgian commonwealth fell to the ground. The congress decided in favour of the maintenance of the kingdom, drew up a new constitution, and offered the crown to the Prince de Nemours, second son of the king of the French. It was, however, refused by Louis Philippe in the name of his son, in order to avoid war with the other great European powers. Surlet de Chokier, the leader of the liberal party, hereupon undertook the provisional government of the country, and negotiations were entered into with Prince Leopold of Coburg.

On the 4th of November, a congress, composed of the ministers of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, met at London for the purpose of settling the Belgian question without disturbing the peace of Europe, and it was decided that Prince Leopold of Coburg, the widower of the princess royal of England, a man entirely under British influence, and who had refused the throne of Greece, should accept that of Belgium. Eighteen articles favourable to Belgium were

* So bitter was the enmity existing between the Belgians and the Dutch, that the Dutch lieutenant, Van Speyk, when driven by a storm before Antwerp, blew up his gun-boat in the middle of the Scheldt rather than allow it to fall into the hands of the Belgians.

granted to him by the London congress. Scarcely, however, had he reached Brussels, on the 31st July, 1831, than the fêtes given upon that occasion were disturbed by the unexpected invasion of Belgium by a numerous and powerful Dutch force. At Hasselt, the Prince of Orange defeated the Belgians under General Daine, and, immediately advancing against Leopold, utterly routed him at Tirlemont, on the 12th of August. The threats of France and England, and the appearance of a French army in Belgium, saved Brussels and compelled the Dutch to withdraw. The eighteen articles in favour of Belgium were, on the other hand, replaced by twenty-four others, more favourable to the Dutch, which Leopold was compelled to accept. The king of Holland, however, refusing to accept these twenty-four articles, with which, notwithstanding the concessions therein contained, he was dissatisfied, the Belgian government took advantage of the undecided state of the question, not to undertake, for the time being, half of the public debt of Holland, which, by the twenty-four articles, was laid upon Belgium.

Negotiations dragged on their weary length, and protocol after protocol followed in endless succession from London. In 1832, Leopold espoused Louisa, one of the daughters of the king of the French, and was not only finally recognised by the northern powers, but, by means of the intervention of England, being backed by a fleet, and by means of that of France, being backed by an army, compelled Holland to accept of terms of peace. The French troops under Gerard, unassisted by the Belgians and watched by a Prussian army stationed on the Meuse, regularly besieged and took the citadel of Antwerp, on Christmas eve, 1832, gave it up to the Belgians as pertaining to their territory, and evacuated the country. King William, however, again rejecting the twenty-four articles, all the other points, the division of the public debt, the navigation of the Scheldt, and, more than all, the future destiny of the province of Luxemburg, which formed part of the confederated states of Germany, had been declared hereditary in the house of Nassau-Orange, and which, by its geographical position and the character of its inhabitants, was more nearly connected with Belgium, remained for the present unsettled. In 1839, Holland was induced by a fresh demonstration on the part of the great powers to accept the twenty-four arti-

cles, against which Belgium in her turn protested on the ground of the procrastination on the part of Holland having rendered her earlier accession to these terms null and void. Belgium was, however, also compelled to yield. By this fresh agreement it was settled that the western part of Luxemburg, which had in the interim fallen away from the German confederation, should be annexed to Belgium, and that Holland (and the German confederation) should receive the eastern part of Limburg in indemnity; and that Belgium, instead of taking upon herself one half of the public debt of the Netherlands, should annually pay the sum of five million Dutch goldens towards defraying the interest of that debt.

The period of the independence of Belgium, brief as it was, was made use of, particularly under the Nothomb ministry, for the development of great industrial activity, and, more especially, for the creation of a system of railroads, until now without its parallel on the continent. Unfortunately but little was done in favour of the interests of Germany. The French language had already become so prevalent throughout Belgium, that, in 1840, the provincial counsellors of Ghent were constrained to pass a resolution to the effect that the offices dependent upon them should, at all events, solely be intrusted to persons acquainted with the Flemish dialect, and that their rescripts should be drawn up in that language.——Holland immensely increased her public debt in consequence of her extraordinary exertions. In 1841, the king, William I., voluntarily abdicated the throne and retired into private life, in the enjoyment of an enormous revenue, with a Catholic countess, whom he had wedded. He was succeeded by his son, William II.

CCLXVIII. *The Swiss Revolution.*

THE restoration of 1814 had replaced the ancient aristocracy more or less on their former footing throughout Switzerland. In this country the greatest tranquillity prevailed; the oppression of the aristocracy was felt, but not so heavily as to be insupportable. Many benefits, as, for instance, the draining of the swampy Linththal by Escher of Zurich, were, moreover, conferred upon the country. Mercenaries were also continually furnished to the king of France, to the pope,

and, for some time, to the king of the Netherlands. France, nevertheless, imposed such heavy commercial duties that several of the cantons leagued together for the purpose of taking reprisals. This misunderstanding between Switzerland and France unfortunately did not teach wisdom to the states belonging to the German confederation, and the Rhine was also barricaded with custom-houses, those graves of commerce. The Jesuits settled at Freiburg in the Uechtland, where they founded a large seminary and whence they finally succeeded in expelling Peter Girard, a man of high merit, noted for the liberality of his views on education.*

The Paris revolution of July also gave rise to a democratic reaction throughout Switzerland. Berne, by a circular, published September 22nd, 1830, called upon the other Swiss governments to suppress the revolutionary spirit by force, and, by so doing, fired the train. The government of Zurich wisely opposed the circular and made a voluntary reform. In all the other cantons popular societies sprang up, and, either by violence or by threats, subverted the ancient governments. New constitutions were every where granted. The immense majority of the people was in favour of reform, and the aristocracy offered but faint resistance. Little towns or villages became the centre of the movements against the capitals. Fischer, an inn-keeper from Merischwanden, seized the city of Aarau ; the village of Burgdorf revolutionized the canton of Berne, the village of Murten the canton of Freiburg, the village of Weinfelden the canton of Constance ; this example was followed by the peasantry of Solothurn and Vaud ; the government of St. Gall imitated that of Zurich.

Basle was also attempted to be revolutionized by Liestal, but the wealthy and haughty citizens, principally at the instigation of the family of Wieland, made head against the peasantry, who were led by one Gutzwyler. The contest that had taken place in Belgium was here reacted on a smaller scale. A dispute concerning privileges commencing between the citizens and the peasantry, bloody excesses ensued and a

* In Lucerne, the disorderly trial of a numerous band of robbers, which had been headed by an extremely beautiful and talented girl, named Clara Wendel, made the more noise on account of its bringing the bandit-like murder of Keller, the aged mayor, and intrigues, in which the name of the nuncio was mixed up, before the public. 1825.

complete separation was the result. The peasantry, superior in number, asserted their right to send a greater number of deputies to the great council than the cities, and the latter, dreading the danger to which their civic interests would be thereby exposed, obstinately refused to comply. Party rage ran high; the Baselese insulted some of the deputies sent by the peasantry, and the latter, in retaliation, began to blockade the town. Colonel Wieland made some sallies; the federal diet interfered, and the peasantry, being dispersed by the federal troops, revenged themselves during their retreat by plundering the vale of Reigoldswyler, which had remained true to Basle. In Schwyz, the Old-Schwyzers and the inhabitants of the outer circles, who, although for centuries in possession of the rights of citizenship, were still regarded by the former as their vassals, also fell at variance, and the latter demanded equal rights or complete separation. In Neuchatel, Bourguin attempted a revolution against the Prussian party and took the city, but succumbed to the vigorous measures adopted by General Pfuel, A. D. 1831.

The conduct of the federal diet, which followed in the footsteps of European policy, and which, by winking at the opposing party and checking that in favour of progression, sought to preserve the balance, but served to increase party spirit. In September, 1831, the Radicals founded at Langenthal, the *Schutzverein* or protective union, which embraced all the liberal clubs throughout Switzerland and was intended to counteract the impending aristocratic counter-revolution. Men like Schnell of Berne, Troxler the philosopher, etc., stood at its head. They demanded the abolition of the constitution of 1815 as too aristocratic and federal, and the foundation of a new one in a democratic and independent sense for the increase of the external power and unity of Switzerland, and for her internal security from petty aristocratic and local views and intrigues. In March, 1832, Lucerne, Zurich, Berne, Solothurn, St. Gall, Aargau, and Constance formed a *Concordat* for the mutual maintenance of their democratic constitutions until the completion of the revisal of the confederation. The aristocratic party, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, (actuated by ancient pride and led by the clergy,) Basle, and Neufchatel meanwhile formed the Sarner confederation. In August, the deposed Bernese aristocracy, headed by Major Fis-

cher, made a futile attempt to produce a counter-revolution. In the federal diet, the envoys of the *Concordat* and the threatening language of the clubs compelled the members to bring a new federal constitution under deliberation, but opinions were too divided, and the constitution projected in 1833 fell to the ground for want of sufficient support. At the moment of this defeat of the liberal party, Alt-Schwyz, led by Abyberg, took up arms, took possession of Küssnacht, and threatened the *Concordat*, the Baselese at the same time taking the field with one thousand two hundred men and fourteen pieces of ordnance. The people were, however, inimical to their cause; Abyberg fled; the Baselese were encountered by the peasantry in the Hartwald and repulsed with considerable loss. The federal diet demonstrated the greatest energy in order to prevent the *Concordat* and the *Schutzverein* from acting in its stead. Schwyz and Basle were occupied with soldiery; the former was compelled to accept a new constitution drawn up with a view of pacifying both parties, the latter to accede to a complete separation between the town and country. The Sarner confederation was dissolved, and all discontented cantons were compelled, under pain of the infliction of martial law, to send envoys to the federal diet. Intrigues, having for object the alienation of the city of Basle, of Neuchatel, and Valais from the confederation, were discovered and frustrated by the diet, not without the approbation of France, the Valais and the road over the Simplon being thereby prevented from falling beneath the influence of Austria.

In 1833, five hundred Polish refugees, suspected of supporting the Frankfort attempt in Germany, quitted France for Switzerland, and soon afterwards unsuccessfully invaded Savoy in conjunction with some Italian refugees. Crowds of refugees from every quarter joined them and formed a central association, Young Europe, whence branched others, Young France, Young Poland, Young Germany, and Young Italy. The principal object of this association was to draw the German journeymen apprentices (*Handwerksbursche*) into its interests, and for this purpose a banquet was given by it to these apprentices in the Steinbrölzle near Berne. These intrigues produced serious threats on the side of the great powers, and Switzerland yielded. The greater part of the refugees were compelled to emigrate through France to England and Ame-

rica. Napoleon's nephew was, at a later period, also expelled Switzerland. His mother, Queen Hortense, consort to Louis, ex-king of Holland, daughter to Josephine Beauharnois, consequently both step-daughter and sister-in-law to Napoleon, possessed the beautiful estate of Arenenberg on the lake of Constance. On her death it was inherited by her son, Louis, who, during his residence there, occupied himself with intrigues directed against the throne of Louis Philippe. In concert with a couple of military madmen, he introduced himself into Strassburg, where, with a little hat, in imitation of that worn by Napoleon, on his head, he proclaimed himself emperor in the open streets. He was easily arrested. This act was generously viewed by Louis Philippe as that of a senseless boy, and he was restored to liberty upon condition of emigrating to America. No sooner, however, was he once more free, than, returning to Switzerland, he set fresh intrigues on foot. Louis Philippe, upon this, demanded his expulsion. Constance would willingly have extended to him the protection due to one of her citizens, but how were the claims of a Swiss citizen to be rendered compatible with those of a pretender to the throne of France? French troops already threatened the frontiers of Switzerland, where, as in 1793, the people, instead of making preparations for defence, were at strife among themselves. Louis at length voluntarily abandoned the country, A. D. 1838.

In the beginning of 1839, Dr. Strauss, who, in 1835, had, in his work entitled "The Life of Jesus," declared the Gospels a cleverly-devised fable, and had, at great pains, sought to refute the historical proofs of the truth of Christianity, was, on that account, appointed, by the council of education and of government at Zurich, professor of divinity to the new Zurich academy. Burgomaster Hirzel (nicknamed "the tree of liberty" on account of his uncommon height) stood at the head of the enthusiastic government party by which this extraordinary appointment had been effected; the people, however, rose *en masse*, the great council was compelled to meet, and the antichristian party suffered a most disgraceful defeat. Strauss, who had not ventured to appear in person on the scene of action, was offered and accepted a pension. The Christian party, concentrated into a committee of faith, under the presidency of Hürliman, behaved with extreme modera-

tion, although greatly superior in number to their opponents. The radical government, ashamed and perplexed, committed blunder after blunder, and at length threatened violence. Upon this, Hirzel, the youthful priest of Pfäffikon, rang the alarm from his parish church, and, on the 6th of September, 1839, led his parishioners into the city of Zurich. This example was imitated by another crowd of peasantry, headed by a physician named Rahn. The government troops attacked the people and killed nine men. On the fall of the tenth, Hegetschwiler, the counsellor of state, a distinguished savant and physician, whilst attempting to restore harmony between the contending parties, the civic guard turned against the troops and dispersed them. The radical government and the Strauss faction also fled. Immense masses of peasantry from around the lake entered the city. A provisional government, headed by Hiesz and Muralt, and a fresh election, insured tranquillity.

In the canton of Schwyz, a lengthy dispute, similar to that between the Vettkoper and Schieringer in Frizeland, was carried on between the Horn and Hoof-men (the wealthy in possession of cattle and the poor who only possessed a cow or two) concerning their privileges. In 1839, a violent opposition, similar in nature, was made by the people of Vaud against the oligarchical power assumed by a few families.

The closing of the monasteries in the Aargau in 1840 gave rise to a dispute of such importance as to disturb the whole of the confederation. In the Aargau the church and state had long and strenuously battled, when the monastery of Muri was suddenly invested as the seat of a conspiracy, and, on symptoms of uneasiness becoming perceptible among the Catholic population, the whole country was flooded with twenty thousand militia raised on the spur of the moment, and the closing of the monastery of Muri and of all the monasteries in the Aargau was proclaimed and carried into execution. The rest of the Catholic cantons and Rome vehemently protested against this measure, and even some of the Reformed cantons, for the sake of peace, voted at the diet for the maintenance of the monasteries: the Aargau, nevertheless, steadily refused compliance.

CCLXIX. *The Revolution in Brunswick, Saxony, Hesse, etc.*

The Belgian revolution spread into Germany. Liege infected her neighbour, Aix-la-Chapelle, where, on the 30th of August, 1830, the workmen belonging to the manufactories raised a senseless tumult which was a few days afterwards repeated by their fellow-workmen at Elberfeld, Wetzlar, and even by the populace of Berlin and Breslau, but which solely took a serious character in Brunswick, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse.

Charles, duke of Brunswick, was at Paris, squandering the revenue derived from his territories, on the outburst of the July revolution, which drove him back to his native country, where he behaved with increased insolence. His obstinate refusal to abolish the heavy taxes, to refrain from disgraceful sales, to recommence the erection of public buildings, and to recognise the provincial Estates, added to his threat to fire upon the people and his boast that he knew how to defend his throne better than Charles X. of France, so maddened the excitable blood of his subjects that, after throwing stones at the duke's carriage and at an actress on whom he publicly bestowed his favours, they stormed his palace and set fire to it over his head, Sept. 7th, 1830. Charles escaped through the garden. His brother, William, supported by Hanover and Prussia, replaced him, recognised the provincial Estates, granted a new constitution, built a new palace, and re-established tranquillity. The conduct of the expelled duke, who, from his asylum in the Harzgebirge, made a futile attempt to regain possession of Brunswick by means of popular agitation and by the proclamation of democratical opinions, added to the contempt with which he treated the admonitions of his superiors, induced the federal diet to recognise his brother's authority. The ex-duke has, since this period, wandered over England, France, and Spain, sometimes engaged in intrigues with Carlists, at others with republicans. In 1836, he accompanied a celebrated female aeronaut in one of her excursions from London. The balloon accidentally upset and the duke and his companion fell to the ground. He was, however, as in his other adventures, more frightened than hurt.

In Saxony, the progress of enlightenment had long rendered the people sensible of the errors committed by the

old and etiquettish aristocracy of the court and diet. As early as 1829, all the grievances had been recapitulated in an anonymous printed address, and, in the beginning of 1830, on the venerable king, Antony, (brother to Frederick Augustus, deceased, A. D. 1827,) declaring invalid the settlement of his affairs by the Estates, which evinced a more liberal spirit than they had hitherto done, and on the prohibiiton of the festivities on the 25th of June, the anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, by the town-council of Dresden and by the government commissioner of the university of Leipzig from devotion to the Catholic court, a popular tumult ensued in both cities, which was quelled but to be, a few weeks later, after the revolution of July, more disastrously renewed. The tumult commenced at Leipzig on the 2nd of September and lasted several days, and, during the night of the 9th, Dresden was stormed from without by two immense crowds of populace, by whom the police buildings and the town-house were ransacked and set on fire. Disturbances of a similar nature broke out at Chemnitz and Bautzen. The king, upon this, nominated his nephew, Prince Frederick, who was greatly beloved by the people, co-regent: the civic guard restored tranquillity, the most crying abuses, particularly those in the city administration, were abolished, and the constitution was revised. The popular minister, Lindenau, replaced Einsiedel, who had excited universal detestation.

In the electorate of Hesse, the period of terror occasioned by the threatening letters addressed to the elector was succeeded by the agitation characteristic of the times. On the 6th of September, 1830, a tumultuous rising took place at Cassel; on the 24th, the people of Hanau destroyed every custom-house stationed on the frontier. The public was so unanimous and decided in opinion that the elector not only agreed to abolish the abuses, to convoke the Estates, and to grant a new constitution, but even placed the reins of government provisionally in the hands of his son, Prince William, in order to follow the Countess Reichenbach, who had been driven from Cassel by the insults of the populace. Prince William was however as little as his father inclined to make concessions; and violent collisions speedily ensued. He wedded Madame Lehmann, the wife of a Prussian officer, under the name of the Countess von Schaumburg, and closed the theatre

against his mother, the electress, for refusing to place herself at her side in public. The citizens sided with the electress, and when, after some time had elapsed, she again ventured to visit the theatre, the doors were no longer closed against her, and, on her entrance, she found the house completely filled. On the close of the evening's entertainment, however, whilst the audience were peaceably dispersing, they were charged by a troop of cavalry who cut down the defenceless multitude without distinction of age or sex, December the 7th, 1830. The Estates, headed by Professor Jordan, vainly demanded redress; Giesler, the head of the police, was alone designated as the criminal; the scrutiny was drawn to an interminable length and produced no other result than Giesler's decoration with an order by the prince.

In Hesse-Darmstadt, where the poll-tax amounted to 6*fls.* 12*krs.* (10*s.* 4*d.*) a head, the Estates ventured, even prior to the revolution of July, to refuse to vote 2,000,000 *fls.* (£166,666 13*s.* 4*d.*) to the new grand-duke, Louis II., (who had just succeeded his aged father, the patron of the arts,) for the defrayment of debts contracted by him before his accession to the ducal chair. In September, the peasantry of Upper Hesse rose *en masse* on account of the imposition of the sum of 100,000*fls.* (£8333 6*s.* 8*d.*) upon the poverty-stricken communes in order to meet the outlay occasioned by the festivities given in the grand-duke's honour on his route through the country; the burthens laid upon the peasantry in the mediatized principalities, more particularly in that of Ysenburg, had also become unbearable. The insurgents took Büdingen by storm and were guilty of some excesses towards the public officers and the foresters, but deprived no one of life. Ere long convinced of their utter impotence, they dispersed before the arrival of Prince Emilius at the head of a body of military, who, blinded by rage, unfortunately killed a number of persons in the village of Södel, whom they mistook for insurgents owing to the circumstance of their being armed, but who had in reality been assembled by a forester for the purpose of keeping the insurgents in check.

In this month, September, 1830, popular disturbances, but of minor import, broke out also at Jena and Kahla, Altenburg, and Gera.

In Hanover, the first symptoms of revolution appeared in

January, 1831. Dr. König was at that time at the head of the university of Osterode, Dr. Rauschenplatt of that of Göttingen.* The abolition of the glaring ancient abuses and the removal of the minister, Count Münster, the sole object of whose policy appeared to be the eternalization of every administrative and juridical antiquity in the state, were demanded. The petty insurrections were quelled by the military. König was taken prisoner; most of the other demagogues escaped to France. The Duke of Cambridge, the king's brother, mediated. Count Münster was dismissed, and Hanover received a new and more liberal constitution.

Whilst these events were passing in Germany, the Poles carried on a contest against the whole power of Russia as glorious and as unfortunate as their former one under their leader, Kosciusko. Louis Philippe, king of the French, in the hope of gaining favour with the northern powers by the abandonment of the Polish cause, dealt not a stroke in their aid. Austria, notwithstanding her natural rivalry to Russia, beheld the Polish revolution merely through the veil of legitimacy and refused her aid to rebels. An Hungarian address in favour of Poland produced no result. Prussia was closely united by family ties to Russia. The Poles were consequently left without external aid, and their spirit was internally damped by diplomatic arts. Aid was promised by France, if they would wait. They accordingly waited: and in the interim, after the failure of Diebitsch's attempt upon Warsaw and his sudden death, Paskewitch, the Russian general, unexpectedly crossed the Vistula close to the Prussian fortress of Thorn and seized the city of Warsaw whilst each party was still in a state of indecision. Immense masses of fugitive Polish soldiery sought shelter in Austria and Prussia. The officers and a few thousand private soldiers were permitted to pass onwards to France: they found a warm welcome in Southern Germany, whence they had during the campaign been supplied with surgeons and every necessary for the supply of the hospitals. The rest were compelled to return to Russia.

The Russian troops drawn from the distant provinces,

* Also the unfortunate Dr. Plath, to whom science is indebted for an excellent historical work upon China. He became implicated in this affair and remained in confinement until 1836, when he was sentenced to fifteen years' further imprisonment.

the same that had been employed in the war with Persia, overran Poland as far as the Prussian frontier, bringing with them a fearful pestilence, Asiatic cholera. This dire malady, which had, since 1817, crept steadily onwards from the banks of the Ganges, reached Russia in 1830, and, in the autumn of 1831, spread across the frontiers of Germany. It chiefly visited populous cities and generally spared districts less densely populated, passing from one great city to another whither infection could not have been communicated. *Cordons de santé* and quarantine regulations were of no avail. The pestilence appeared to spread like miasma through the air and to kindle like gas wherever the assemblage of numbers disposed the atmosphere to its reception. The patients were seized with vomiting and diarrhœa, accompanied with violent convulsions, and often expired instantaneously or after an agony of a few hours' duration. Medicinal art was powerless against this disease, and, as in the 14th century, the ignorant populace ascribed its prevalence to poison. Suspicion fell this time upon the physicians and the public authorities and spread in the most incredible manner from St. Petersburg to Paris. The idea that the physicians had been charged to poison the people *en masse* occasioned dreadful tumults, in which numbers of physicians fell victims and every drug used in medicine was destroyed as poisonous. Similar scenes occurred in Russia and in Hungary. In the latter country a great insurrection of the peasants took place, in August, 1831, in which not only the physicians but also numbers of the nobility and public officers who had provided themselves with drugs fell victims, and the most inhuman atrocities were perpetrated. In Vienna, where the cholera raged with extreme virulence, the people behaved more reasonably.

In Prussia, the cholera occasioned several disturbances at Kœnigsberg, Stettin, and Breslau. At Kœnigsberg the movement was not occasioned by the disease being attributed to poison. The strict quarantine regulations enforced by the government had produced a complete commercial stagnation, notwithstanding which permission had been given to the Russian troops, when hard pushed by the insurgent Poles, to provide themselves with provisions and ammunition from Prussia, so that not only Russian agents and commissaries, but

whole convoys from Russia crossed the Prussian frontier. The appearance of cholera was ascribed to this circumstance, and the public discontent was evinced both by a popular outbreak and in an address from the chief magistrate of Kœnigsberg to the throne. The Prussian army, under the command of Field-marshal Gneisenau, stationed in Posen for the purpose of watching the movements of the Poles, was also attacked by the cholera, to which the field-marshal fell victim. It speedily reached Berlin, spread through the north of Germany to France, England, and North America, returned thence to the south of Europe, and, in 1836, crept steadily on from Italy through the Tyrol to Bavaria.

The veil had been torn from many an old and deep-rooted evil by the disturbances of 1830. The press now emulated the provincial diets and some of the governments that sought to meet the demands of the age in exposing to public view all the political wants of Germany. Party spirit however still ran too high, and the moderate constitutionalists, who aimed at the gradual introduction of reforms by legal means, found themselves ere long out-flanked by two extreme parties. Whilst Gentz at Vienna, Jarcke at Berlin, etc., refused to make the slightest concession and in that spirit conducted the press, Rotteck's petty constitutional reforms in Baden were treated with contempt by Wirth and Siebenpfeiffer, by whom a German republic was with tolerable publicity proclaimed in Rhenish Bavaria. Nor were attempts at mediation wanting. In Darmstadt, Schulz proposed the retention of the present distribution of the states of Germany and the association of a second chamber, composed of deputies elected by the people from every part of the German confederation, with the federal assembly at Frankfurt.

The Tribune, edited by Dr. Wirth, and the *Westboten*, edited by Dr. Siebenpfeiffer, were prohibited by the federal diet, March 2nd, 1832. Schüler, Savoie, and Geib opposed this measure by the foundation of a club in Rhenish Bavaria for the promotion of liberty of the press, ramifications of which were intended by the founders to be extended throughout Germany. The approaching celebration of the festival in commemoration of the Bavarian constitution afforded the malcontents a long-wished-for opportunity for the convocation of a monster meeting at the ancient castle of Hambach, on

the 27th of May. Although the black, red, and gold flag waved on this occasion high above the rest, the tendency to French liberalism predominated over that to German patriotism. Numbers of French being also present, Dr. Wirth deemed himself called upon to observe, that the festival they had met to celebrate was intrinsically German, that he despised liberty as a French boon, and that the patriot's first thoughts were for his country, his second for liberty. These observations greatly displeased the numerous advocates for French republicanism among his audience, and one Rey, a Strassburg citizen, read him a severe lecture in the Mayence style of 1793.* There were also a number of Poles present, towards whom no demonstrations of jealousy were evinced. This meeting peaceably dissolved, but no means were for the future neglected for the purpose of crushing the spirit manifested by it. Marshal Wrede occupied Spires, Landau, Neustadt, etc. with Bavarian troops; the clubs for the promotion of liberty of the press were strictly prohibited, their original founders, as well as the orators of Hambach and the boldest of the newspaper editors, were either arrested or compelled to quit the country. Siebenpfeiffer took refuge in Switzerland; Wirth might have effected his escape, but refused. Some provocations in Neustadt, on the anniversary of the Hambach festival in 1833, were brought by the military to a tragical close. Some newspaper editors, printers, etc. were also arrested at Munich, Würzburg, Augsburg, etc. The most celebrated among the accused was Professor Behr, court-counsellor of Würzburg, the burgomaster and former deputy

* All national distinctions must cease and be fused in universal liberty and equality; this was the sole aim of the noble French people, and for this cause should we meet them with a fraternal embrace, etc. Paul Pfizer well observed in a pamphlet on German liberalism, published at that period, "What epithet would the majority of the French people bestow upon a liberty which a part of their nation would purchase by placing themselves beneath the protection of a foreign and superior power, called to their aid against their fellow-citizens? If the cause of German liberalism is to remain pure and unspotted, we must not, like Coriolanus, arm the foreign foe against our country. The egotistical tendency of the age is, unhappily, too much inclined (by a coalition with France) to prefer personal liberty and independence to the liberty and independence (thereby infallibly forfeited) of the whole community. The supposed fellowship with France would be subjection to her. France will support the German liberals as Richelieu did the German Protestants."

of that city, who, at the time of the meeting at Hambach, made a public speech at Gaibach, on account of the revolutionary tendency manifested in it, was arrested, and, in 1836, sentenced to ask pardon on his knees before the king's portrait and to imprisonment, a punishment to which the greater part of the political offenders were condemned.

The federal diet had for some time been occupied with measures for the internal tranquillity of Germany. The Hambach festival both brought them to a conclusion and increased their severity. Under the date of the 28th of June, 1832, the resolutions of the federal assembly, by which first of all the provincial Estates, then the popular clubs, and finally the press, were to be deprived of every means of opposing in any the slightest degree the joint will of the princes, were published. The governments were bound not to tolerate within their jurisdiction aught contrary to the resolutions passed by the federal assembly, and to call the whole power of the confederation to their aid if unable to enforce obedience; nay, in cases of urgency, the confederation reserved for itself the right of armed intervention, undemanded by the governments. Taxes, to meet the expenses of the confederation, were to be voted submissively by the provincial Estates. Finally, all popular associations and assemblies were also prohibited, and all newspapers, still remaining, of a liberal tendency, were suppressed.

The youthful revolutionists, principally students, assembled secretly at Frankfurt a M., during the night of the 3rd of April, 1833, attacked the town-watch for the purpose of liberating some political prisoners, and possibly intended to have carried the federal assembly by a *coup-de-main* had they not been dispersed. These excesses had merely the effect of increasing the severity of the scrutiny and of crowding the prisons with suspected persons.

CCLXX. *The struggles of the provincial Diets.*

The Estates of the different constitutional states sought for constitutional reform by legal means and separated themselves from the revolutionists. But, during periods of great political agitation, it is difficult to draw a distinctive line, and every opposition, however moderate, appears as dangerous as the most

intemperate rebellion. It was, consequently, impossible for the governments and the Estates to come to an understanding during these stormy times. The result of the deliberations, whenever the opposition was in the majority, was protestations on both sides in defence of right; and, whenever the opposition was or fell in the minority, the chambers were the mere echo of the minister.

In Bavaria, A. D. 1831, the second chamber raised a violent storm against the minister, von Schenk, principally on account of the restoration of some monasteries and of the enormous expense attending the erection of the splendid public buildings at Munich. A law of censorship had, moreover, been published, and a number of civil officers elected by the people been refused permission to take their seats in the chamber. Schwindel, von Closen, Cullmann, Seyffert, etc. were the leaders of the opposition. Schenk resigned office; the law of censorship was repealed, and the Estates struck two millions from the civil list. The first chamber, however, refused its assent to these resolutions, the law of censorship was retained, and the saving in the expenditure of the crown was reduced to an extremely insignificant amount. In the autumn of 1832, Prince Otto, the king's second son, was, with the consent of the sultan, elected king of Greece by the great maritime powers intrusted with the decision of the Greek question, and Count Armansperg, formerly minister of Bavaria, was placed at the head of the regency during the minority of the youthful monarch. Steps having to be taken for the levy of troops for the Greek service, some regiments were sent into Greece in order to carry the new regulations into effect. The Bavarian chambers were at a later period almost entirely purged from the opposition and granted every demand made by the government. The appearance of the Bavarians in ancient Greece forms one of the most interesting episodes in modern history. The jealousy of the great powers explains the election of a sovereign independent of them all: the noble sympathy displayed for the Grecian cause by King Louis, who, shortly after the congress of Verona, sent considerable sums of money and Colonel von Heideck to the aid of the Greeks, and, it may be, also the wish to bring the first among the lesser powers of Germany into closer connexion with the common interests of the great powers,

more particularly explains that of the youthful Otto.* The task of organizing a nation, noble, indeed, but debased by long slavery and still reeking with the blood of late rebellion, under the influence of a powerful and mutually jealous diplomacy, on an European and German footing, was, however, extremely difficult. Hence the opposite views entertained by the regency, the resignation of the counsellors of state, von Maurer and von Abel, who were more inclined to administrate, and the retention of office by Count Armansperg, who was more inclined to diplomatize. Hence the ceaseless intrigues of party, the daily increasing contumacy, and the revolt, sometimes quenched in blood, of the wild mountain tribes and ancient robber-chiefs, to whom European institutions were still an insupportable yoke. King Otto received, on his accession to the throne, in 1835, a visit from his royal parent; and, in the ensuing year, conducted the Princess of Oldenburg to Athens as his bride.

In Würtemberg, the chambers first met in 1833, and were, two months later, again dissolved on account of the refusal of the second chamber to reject "with indignation" Pfizer's protestation against the resolutions of the confederation. In the newly-elected second chamber, the opposition, at whose head stood the celebrated poet, Uhland, brought forward numerous propositions for reform, but remained in the minority, and it was not until the new diet, held in 1836, that the aristocratic first chamber was induced to diminish soccage-service and other feudal dues 22½ in amount. The literary piracy that had hitherto continued to exist solely in Würtemberg was also provisionally abolished, the system of national education was improved, and several other useful projects were carried into execution or prepared. A new criminal code, published in 1838, again bore traces of political caution. The old opposition lost power.

In Baden, the venerable grand-duke, Louis, expired, A. D.

* Thiersch, the Bavarian court counsellor, one of the most distinguished connoisseurs of Grecian antiquity, who visited Greece shortly after Heideck and before the arrival of the king, was received by the modern Greeks with touching demonstrations of delight. No nation has so deeply studied, so deeply become imbued with Grecian lore, as that of Germany, and the close connexion formed, on the accession of the Bavarian Otto to the throne of Greece, between her sons and the children of that classic land, justifies the proudest expectations.

1830, and was succeeded by Leopold, a descendant of the collateral branch of the counts of Hochberg. Bavaria had, at an earlier period, stipulated, in case of the extinction of the elder and legitimate line, for the restoration of the Pfalz, (Heidelberg and Mannheim,) which had, in 1816, been secured to her by a treaty with Austria. The grand-duke, Louis, had protested against this measure and had, in 1817, declared Baden indivisible. Bavaria finally relinquished her claims on the payment of two million florins (£166,666, 13s. 4*d.*) and the cession of the bailiwick of Steinfeld, to which Austria moreover added the county of Geroldseck. The new grand-duke, who was surnamed "the citizen's friend," behaved with extreme liberality and consequently went hand in hand with the first chamber, of which Wessenberg and Prince von Fürstenberg were active members, and with the second, at the head of which stood Professors Rotteck, Welcker, and von Itzstein. Rotteck proposed and carried through the abolition of capital punishment as alone worthy of feudal times, and, on Welcker's motion, censorship was abolished and a law for the press was passed. The federal assembly, however, speedily checked these reforms. The grand-duke was compelled to repeal the law for the press, the Freiburg university was for some time closed, Professors Rotteck and Welcker were suspended, and their newspaper, the "Freisinnige" or liberal, was suppressed, A. D. 1832. Rotteck was, notwithstanding, at feud with the Hambachers and had raised the Baden flag above that of Germany at a national fête at Badenweiler. This extremely popular deputy, who had been presented with thirteen silver cups in testimony of the affection with which he was regarded by the people, afterwards protested against the resolutions of the confederation, but his motion was violently suppressed by the minister, Winter. The Baden chamber, nevertheless, still retained a good deal of energy, and, after the death of Rotteck, in 1841, a violent contest was carried on concerning the rights of election.

In Hesse-Darmstadt, the Estates again met in 1832; the liberal majority in the second chamber, led by von Gagern, E. E. Hoffmann, Hallwachs, etc. protested against the resolutions of the confederation, and the chamber was dissolved. A fresh election took place, notwithstanding which the chamber was again dissolved in 1834, on account of the govern-

ment being charged with party spirit by von Gagern and the refusal of the chamber to call him to order. The people afterwards elected a majority of submissive members.

In Hesse-Cassel the popular demonstrations were instantly followed by the convocation of the Estates and the proposal of a new and stipulated constitution, which received the sanction of the chambers as early as January, 1831 ; but, amid the continual disturbances and on account of the disinclination of the prince co-regent to the liberal reforms, the chamber, of which the talented professor, Jordan of Marburg, was the most distinguished member, yielded, notwithstanding its perseverance, after two rapidly successive dissolutions, in 1832 and 1833, to the influence of the (once liberal) minister, Hassenpflug, and Jordan quitted the scene of contest. Hassenpflug's tyrannical behaviour and the lapse of Hesse-Rotenburg, (the mediatized collateral line, which became extinct with the Landgrave Victor in 1834,) the revenues of which were appropriated as personal property by the prince elector instead of being declared state property, fed the opposition in the chambers, which was, notwithstanding the menaces of the prince elector, carried on until 1838. Hassenpflug threw up office.

In Nassau, the duke, William, fell into a violent dispute with the Estates. The second chamber, after vainly soliciting the restitution of the rich demesnes, appropriated by the duke as private property, on the ground of their being state property, and the application of their revenue to the payment of the state debts, refused, in the autumn of 1831, to vote the taxes. The first chamber, in which the duke had the power of raising at will a majority in his favour by the creation of fresh members, protested against the conduct of the second, which in return protested against that of the first and suspended its proceedings until their constitutional rights should have received full recognition ; five of the deputies, however, again protested against the suspension of the proceedings of the chamber and voted the taxes during the absence of the majority. The majority again protested, but became entangled in a political law-suit, and Herber, the grey-headed president, was confined in the fortress of Marxburg.

In Brunswick, a good understanding prevailed between William, the new duke, and the Estates, which were, how-

ever, accused of having an aristocratic tendency by the democratic party. Their sittings continued to be held in secret.

In Saxony, the long-wished-for reforms, above all, the grant of a new constitution, were realized, owing to the influence of the popular co-regent, added to that of Lindenau, the highly-esteemed minister, and of the newly-elected Estates, A. D. 1831. The law of censorship, nevertheless, continued to be enforced with extreme severity, which also marked the treatment of the political prisoners. Count Hohenthal and Baron Watzdorf, who seized every opportunity to put in protestations, even against the resolutions of the confederation, evinced the most liberal spirit. On the demise of the aged king, Antony, in 1835, and the accession of the co-regent, Frederick, to the throne, the political movements totally ceased.

Holstein and Schleswig had also, as early as 1823, solicited the restitution of their ancient constitutional rights, which the king, Frederick IV., delayed to grant. Lornsen, the counsellor of chancery, was arrested in 1830, for attempting to agitate the people. Separate provincial diets were, notwithstanding, decreed, in 1831, for Holstein and Schleswig, although both provinces urgently demanded their union. Frederick IV. expired in 1839 and was succeeded by his cousin, Christian.

Immediately after the revolution of July, the princes of Oldenburg, Altenburg, Coburg, Meiningen, and Schwarzburg-Sondershausen made a public appeal to the confidence of their subjects, whom they called upon to lay before them their grievances, etc. Augustus, duke of Oldenburg, who had assumed the title of grand-duke, proclaimed a constitution, but shortly afterwards withdrew his promise and strictly forbade his subjects to annoy him by recalling it to his remembrance. The prince von Sondershausen also refused the hoped-for constitution. In Sigmaringen, Altenburg, and Meiningen the constitutional movement was, on the contrary, countenanced and encouraged by the princes. Pauline, the liberal-minded princess of Lippe-Detmold, had already drawn up a constitution for her petty territory with her own hand, when the nobility rose against it, and, aided by the federal assembly, compelled her to withdraw it.

In the autumn of 1833, the emperor of Russia held a con-

ference with the king of Prussia at München-Grätz, whither the emperor of Austria also repaired. A German ministerial congress assembled immediately afterwards at Vienna, and the first of its resolutions was made public late in the autumn of 1834. It announced the establishment of a court of arbitration, empowered, as the highest court of appeal, to decide all disputes between the governments and their provincial Estates. The whole of the members of this court were to be nominated by the governments, but the disputing parties were free to select their arbitrators from among the number.

A fresh and violent constitutional battle was, notwithstanding these precautions, fought in Hanover, where Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, had, in the name of his brother, William IV., king of England, established a new constitution, which had received many ameliorations notwithstanding the inefficiency of the liberals, Christiani, Lüntzel, etc., to counteract the preponderating influence of the monarchical and aristocratic party. William IV., king of England and Hanover, expired A. D. 1837, and was succeeded on the throne of Great Britain by Victoria Alexandrina, the daughter of his younger and deceased brother, Edward, Duke of Kent, and of the Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg; and on that of Hanover, which was solely heritable in the male line, by his second brother, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, the leader of the Tory party in England. No sooner had this new sovereign set his foot on German soil,* than he repealed the constitution granted to Hanover in 1833 and ordained the restoration of the former one of 1819, drawn up in a less liberal but more monarchical and aristocratic spirit. Among the protestations made against this *coup d'état*, that of the seven Göttingen professors, the two brothers, Grimm, to whom the German language and antiquarian research are so deeply indebted, Dahlmann, Gervinus, Ewald, Weber, and Albrecht, is most worthy of record. Their instant dismission produced an insurrection amongst the students, which was, after a good deal

* He did not restore the whole of the crown property that had, at an earlier period, been carried away to England. A considerable portion of the crown jewels had been taken away by George I., and when, in 1802, the French occupied Hanover, the whole of the moveable crown property, even the great stud, was sent to England. On the demise of George III., the crown jewels were divided among the princes of the English house.—*Copied from the Courier of August*, 1838.

of bloodshed, quelled by the military. In the beginning of 1838, the Estates were convoked according to the articles of the constitution of 1819 for the purpose of taking a constitution, drawn up under the dictation of the king, under deliberation. Many of the towns refused to elect deputies, and some of those elected were not permitted to take their seats. The city of Osnabrück protested in the federal assembly. Notwithstanding this, the Estates meanwhile assembled, but declared themselves incompetent, regarding themselves simply in the light of an arbitrative committee, and, as such, threw out the constitution presented by the king, June, 1838. The federal assembly remained passive.* In 1839, Schele, the minister, finally succeeded, by means of menaces and bribery, and by arbitrarily calling into the chamber the ministerial candidates who had received the minority of votes during the elections, in collecting so many deputies devoted to his party as were requisite in order to form the chamber and to pass resolutions. The city of Hanover hereupon brought before the federal assembly a petition for redress and a list of grievances in which Schele's chamber was described as "unworthy of the name of a constitutional representative assembly, void of confidence, unpossessed of the public esteem, and unrecognised by the country." The king instantly divested Rumann, the city director, of his office, but so far yielded to the magistrate, to whom he gave audience in the palace and who was followed by crowds of the populace, as to revoke the nomination, already declared illegal, of Rumann's successor, and to promise that the matter at issue should be brought before the common tribunal instead of the council of state, July 17th. Numerous other cities, corporations of landed proprietors, etc., also followed the example set by Hanover and laid their complaints before the federal assembly, which hereupon declared that, according to the laws of the confederation, it found no cause for interference, but at the same time advised the king to come to an understanding consistent with the rights of the crown and of the Estates, with the "present" Estates, (unrecognised by the

* The Darmstadt government declared to the second chamber, on its bringing forward a motion for the intercession of Darmstadt with the federal assembly in favour of the legality of the ancient constitution then in force in Hanover, that the grand-duke would never tolerate any co-operation on the part of the Estates with his vote in the federal assembly.

democratic party,) concerning the form of the constitution. In the federal assembly, Würtemberg and Bavaria, most particularly, voted in favour of the Hanoverians. Professor Ewald was appointed to the university of Tübingen; Albrecht, at a later period, to that of Leipzig; the brothers Grimm, to that of Berlin; Dahlmann, to that of Bonn. Among the assembled Estates, those of Baden, Würtemberg, and Saxony most warmly espoused the cause of the people of Hanover, but, as was natural, without result.*

In 1840, the king convoked a fresh diet. The people refused to elect members, and it was solely by means of intrigue that a small number of deputies (not half the number fixed by law) were assembled, creatures of the minister, Schele, who were disowned by the people in addresses couched in the most energetic terms (the address presented by the citizens of Osnabrück was the most remarkable) and their proceedings were protested against. This petty assembly, nevertheless, took under deliberation and passed a new constitution, against which the cities and the country again protested. The king also declared his only son, George, who was afflicted with blindness, capable of governing and of succeeding to the throne.

CCLXXI. *Austria and Prince Metternich.*

AUSTRIA might, on the fall of Napoleon, have maintained Alsace, Lorraine, the Breisgau, and the whole of the territory of the Upper Rhine in the same manner in which Prussia had maintained that of the Lower Rhine, had she not preferred the preservation of her rule in Italy and rendered her position in Germany subordinate to her station as a European power. This policy is explained by the peculiar circumstances of the Austrian state, which had for centuries comprised within itself nations of the most distinct character, and the population of whose provinces were by far the greater part Sclavonian, Hungarian, and Italian, the great minority German. By this policy she lost, as the Prussian customs'

* "This defeat is, however, not to be lamented: the battle for the separate constitutions has not been fought in vain if German nationality spring from the wreck of German separatism, if we are taught that without a liberal federal constitution liberal provincial constitutions are impossible in Germany."—*Pfizer.*

union has also again proved, much of her influence over Germany, whilst, on the other hand, she secured it the more firmly in Southern and Eastern Europe. Austria has long made a gradual and almost unperceived advance from the north-west in a south-easterly direction. In Germany she has continually lost ground. Switzerland, the Netherlands, Alsace, Lorraine, the Swabian counties, Lusatia, Silesia, have one by one been severed from her, whilst her non-German possessions have as continually been increased, by the addition of Hungary, Transylvania, Galicia, Dalmatia, and Upper Italy.

The contest carried on between Austria, the French Revolution, and Napoleon, has at all events left deep and still visible traces; the characters of the emperor Francis and of his chancellor of state, Prince Metternich, that perfect representative of the aristocracy of Europe, sympathize also as closely with the Austrian system as the character of the emperor Joseph was antipathetical to it. This system dates, however, earlier than those revolutionary struggles, and has already outlived at least one of its supporters.

Austria is the only great state in Europe that comprises so many divers but well-poised nationalities within its bosom; in all the other great states, one nation bears the preponderance. To this circumstance may be ascribed her peaceful policy, every great war threatening her with the revolt of some one of the foreign nations subordinate to her sceptre. To this may, moreover, be ascribed the tenacity with which she upholds the principle of legitimacy. The historical hereditary right of the reigning dynasty forms the sole but ideal tie by which the divers and naturally inimical nations beneath her rule are linked together. From the same reason, the concentration of talent in the government contrasts, in Austria, more violently with the obscurantism of the provinces, than in any other state. Not only does the over-preponderating intelligence of the chancery of state awe the nations beneath its rule, but the proverbial good nature and patriarchal cordiality of the imperial family win every heart. The army is a mere machine in the hands of the government; a standing army, in which the soldier serves for life or for the period of twenty years, during which he necessarily loses all sympathy with his fellow-citizens, and which is solely reintegrated from militia whom this privilege renders still more devoted to the govern-

ment. The prætorian spirit usually prevalent in standing armies has been guarded against in Austria by there being no guards, and all sympathy between the military and the citizens of the various provinces whence they were drawn is at once prevented by the Hungarian troops being sent into Italy, the Italian troops into Galicia, etc. etc. The nationality of the private soldier is checked by the Germanism of the subalterns and by the Austrianism of the staff. Besides the power thus every where visible, there exists another partially invisible, that of the police, in connexion with a censorship of the severest description, which keeps a guard over the inadvertencies of the tongue as well as over those of the press. The people are, on the other hand, closely bound up with the government and interested in the maintenance of the existing state of affairs by the paper currency, on the value of which the welfare of every subject in the state depends.

To a government thus strong in concentrated power and intelligence stands opposed the mass of nations subject to the Austrian sceptre whose natural antipathies have been artfully fostered and strengthened. In Austria the distinctions of class, characteristic of the middle ages, are still preserved. The aristocracy and the clergy possess an influence almost unknown in Germany, but solely over the people, not over the government. As corporative bodies they still are, as in the times of Charles VI., convoked for the purpose of holding postulate-diets, whose power, with the exception of that of the Hungarian diet, is merely nominal. The nobility, even in Hungary, as every where else throughout the Austrian states, (more particularly since the Spanish system adopted by Ferdinand II.,) is split into two inimical classes, those of the higher and lower aristocracy. Even in Galicia, where the Polish nobility formed, at an earlier period and according to earlier usage, but one body, the distinction of a higher and lower class has been introduced since the occupation of that country by Austria. The high aristocracy are either bound by favours, coincident with their origin, to the court, the great majority among them consisting of families on whom nobility was conferred by Ferdinand II., or they are, if families belonging to the more powerful and more ancient national aristocracy, as, for instance, that of Esterhazy in Hungary, brought by the bestowal of fresh favours into closer affinity

with the court and drawn within its sphere. The greater proportion of the aristocracy consequently reside at Vienna. The lower nobility make their way chiefly by talent and perseverance in the army and the civil offices, and are therefore naturally devoted to the government, on which all their hopes in life depend. The clergy, although permitted to retain the whole of their ancient pomp and their influence over the minds of the people, have been rendered dependent upon the government, a point easily gained, the pope being principally protected by Austria.

The care of the government for the material welfare of the people cannot be denied; it is, however, frustrated by two obstacles raised by its own system. The maintenance of the high aristocracy is, for instance, antipathetic to the welfare of the subject, and, although comfort and plenty abound in the immediate vicinity of Vienna, the population on the enormous estates of the magnates in the provinces often present a lamentable contrast. The Austrian government moreover prohibits all free intercourse with foreign parts, and the old-fashioned system of taxation, senseless as many other existing regulations, entirely puts a stop to all free trade between Hungary and Austria. Consequently, the new and grand modes of communication, the Franzen-canal, that unites the Danube and the Thiess, the Louisenstrasse, between Carlstadt and Fiume, the magnificent road to Trieste, the admirable road across the rocks of the Stilfser Jock, and, more than all, the steam navigation as far as the mouths of the Danube and the railroads, will be unavailing to scatter the blessings of commerce and industry so long as these wretched prohibitions continue to be enforced.

"Austria has, in regard to her foreign policy, left the increasing influence of Russia in Poland, Persia, and Turkey unopposed, and even allowed the mouths of the Danube to be guarded by Russian fortresses, whilst she has, on the other hand, energetically repelled the interference of France in the affairs of Italy. The July revolution induced a popular insurrection in the dominions of the Church, and the French threw a garrison into the citadel of Ancona; the Austrians, however, instantly entered the country and enforced the restoration of the *ançien regime*. In Lombardy, many ameliorations were introduced and the prosperity of the country

promoted by the Austrian administration, notwithstanding the national jealousy of the inhabitants. Venice, with her choked-up harbour, could, it is true, no longer compete with Trieste. The German element has gained ground in Galicia by means of the public authorities and the immigration of agriculturists and artificers. The Hungarians endeavoured to render their language the common medium throughout Hungary, and to expel the German element, but their apprehension of the numerous Slavonian population of Hungary, whom religious sympathy renders subject to Russian influence, has speedily reconciled them with the Germans. Slavonism has, on the other hand, also gained ground in Bohemia.

The emperor, Francis I., expired A. D. 1835, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand I., without a change taking place in the system of the government, of which Prince Metternich continued to be the directing principle.

The decease of some of the heads of foreign royal families and the marriages of their successors again placed several German princes on foreign thrones. The last of the Guelphs on the throne of Great Britain expired with William IV., whose niece and successor, Victoria Alexandrina, wedded [A. D. 1840] Albert of Saxe-Coburg, second son of Ernest, the reigning duke. That the descendant of the stedfast elector should, after such adverse fortune, be thus destined to occupy the highest position in the reformed world, is of itself remarkable. One of this prince's uncles, Leopold, is seated on the throne of Belgium, and one of his cousins, Ferdinand, on that of Portugal, in right of his consort, Donna Maria da Gloria, the daughter of Don Pedro, king of Portugal and emperor of the Brazils, to whom, on the expulsion of the usurper, Don Miguel, he was wedded, A. D. 1835. These princes of Coburg are remarkable for manly beauty.

The antipathy with which the new dynasty on the throne of France was generally viewed rendered Ferdinand, Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe's eldest son, for some time an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of a German princess; he at length conducted Helena, princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, although against the consent of her stepfather, Paul Frederick, the reigning duke, to Paris, A. D. 1837, as future queen of the French. He was killed, A. D. 1842, by a fall from his carriage, and left two infant sons, the Count of Paris and the

Duke of Chartres. The Czarovitch, Alexander, espoused Maria, Princess of Darmstadt.

The French chambers and journals have reassumed towards Germany the tone formerly affected by Napoleon, and, with incessant cries for war, in which, in 1840, the voice of the prime minister Thiers joined, demand the restoration of the left bank of the Rhine. Thiers was, however, compelled to resign office, and the close alliance between Austria, Prussia, and the whole of the confederated princes, as well as the feeling universally displayed throughout Germany, demonstrated the energy with which an attack on the side of France would be repelled. The erection of the long-forgotten federal fortresses on the Upper Rhine was also taken at length under consideration, and it was resolved to fortify Rastadt and Ulm without further delay.

Nor have the statesmen of France failed to threaten Germany with a Russo-Gallic alliance in the spirit of the Erfurt congress of 1808; whilst Russia perseveres in the prohibitory system so prejudicial to German commerce, attempts to suppress every spark of German nationality in Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia, and fosters Panslavism, or the union of all the Slavonic nations for the subjection of the world, among the Slavonian subjects of Austria in Hungary and Bohemia. The extension of the Greek church is also connected with this idea. "The European Pentarchy," a work that attracted much attention in 1839, insolently boasts how Russia, in defiance of Austria, has seized the mouths of the Danube, has wedged herself, as it were, by means of Poland, between Austria and Prussia, in a position equally threatening to both, recommends the minor states of Germany to seek the protection of Russia, and darkly hints at the alliance between that power and France.

Nor are the prospects of Germany alone threatened by France and Russia; disturbances, like a phantastic renewal of the horrors of the middle age, are ready to burst forth on the other side of the Alps, as though, according to the ancient saga of Germany, the dead were about to rise in order to mingle in the last great contest between the gods and mankind.

CCLXXII. *Prussia and Rome.*

WHILST Austria remains stationary, Prussia progresses. Whilst Austria relies for support upon the aristocracy of the Estates, Prussia relies for hers upon the people, that is to say, upon the public officers taken from the mass of the population, upon the citizens emancipated by the city regulation, upon the peasantry emancipated by the abolition of servitude, of all the other agricultural imposts, and by the division of property, and upon the enrolment of both classes in the Landwehr. Whilst Austria, in fine, renders her German policy subordinate to her European diplomacy, the influence exercised by Prussia upon Europe depends, on the contrary, solely upon that possessed by her in Germany.

Prussia's leading principle appears to be, "All for the people, nothing through the people!" Hence the greatest solicitude for the instruction of the people, whether in the meanest schools or the universities, but under strict political control, under the severest censorship; hence the emancipation of the peasantry, civic self-administration, freedom of trade, the general arming of the people, and, with all these, mere nameless provincial diets, the most complete popular liberty on the widest basis without a representation worthy of the name; hence, finally, the greatest solicitude for the promotion of trade on a grand scale, for the revival of the commerce of Germany, which has lain prostrate since the great wars of the Reformation, for the mercantile unity of Germany, whilst it is exactly in Prussia that political Unitarians are the most severely punished.

The great measures were commenced in Prussia immediately after the disaster of 1806: first, the re-organization of the army and the abolition of the privileges of the aristocracy in respect to appointments and the possession of landed property; these were, in 1808, succeeded by the celebrated civic regulation which placed the civic administration in the hands of the city deputies freely elected by the citizens; in 1810, by freedom of trade and by the foundation of the new universities of Berlin, (instead of Halle,) of Breslau, (instead of Frankfurt on the Oder,) and, in 1819, of Bonn, by which means the libraries, museums, and scientific institutions of every de-

scription were centralized; in 1814, by the common duty imposed upon every individual of every class, without exception, to bear arms and to do service in the Landwehr up to his thirty-ninth year; in 1821, by the regulation for the division of communes; and, in 1822, by the extra post.

In respect to the popular representation guaranteed by the federal act, Prussia announced, on the 22nd of May, 1815, her intention to form provincial diets, from among whose members the general representation or imperial diet, which was to be held at Berlin, was to be elected. When the Rhenish provinces urged the fulfilment of this promise in the Coblentz address of 1817, the reply was, "Those who admonish the king are guilty of doubting the inviolability of his word." Prussia afterwards declared that the new regulations would be in readiness by the February of 1819. On the 20th of January, 1820, an edict was published by the government, the first paragraph of which fixed the public debt at 180,091,720 dollars,* and the second one rendered the contraction of every fresh debt dependent upon the will of the future imperial diet.† The definitive regulations in respect to the provincial Estates were finally published on the 5th of June, 1823, but the convocation of a general diet was passed over in silence.

The prosperity of the nations of Germany, wrecked by the great wars of the Reformation, must and will gradually return. Prussia has inherited all the claims upon, and consequently all the duties owing to Germany. Still the general position of Germany is not sufficiently favourable to render the renovation of her ancient Hanseatic commerce possible.‡ It is to be deplored that the attachment of the Prussian cabinet to Russian policy has not at all events modified the commercial restrictions along the whole of the eastern frontier of Prussia,§

* £26,263,375 16*s.* 8*d.*

† The Maritime Commercial Company, meanwhile, entered into a contract.

‡ "We have long since lost all our maritime power. The only guns now fired by us at sea are as signals of distress. Who now remembers that it was the German Hansa that first made use of cannons at sea, that it was from Germans that the English learnt to build men of war?"—*Jahn's Nationality.*

§ Prussia, of late, greatly contributed towards the aggrandizement of the power of Russia by solemnly declaring in 1828, when Russia ex-

and that Prussia has not been able to effect more with Holland in regard to the question concerning the free navigation of the Rhine.* Prussia has, on the other hand, deserved the gratitude of Germany for the zeal with which she promoted the settlement of the Customs' Union, which has, at least in the interior of Germany, removed the greater part of the restrictions upon commercial intercourse, and has a tendency to spread still further. Throughout the last transactions, partly of the Customs' Union, partly of Prussia alone, with England and Holland, a vain struggle against those maritime powers is perceptible. England trades with Germany from every harbour and in every kind of commodity, whilst German vessels are restricted to home produce and are only free to trade with England from their own ports. Holland finds a market for her colonial wares in Germany, and, instead of taking German manufactured goods in exchange, provides herself from England, throws English goods into Germany, and, in lieu of being, as she ought to be, the great emporium of Germany, is content to remain a mere huge English factory. The Hanse towns have also been converted into mercantile depots for English goods on German soil.

The misery consequent on the great wars, and the powerful reaction against Gallicism throughout Germany, once more caused despised religion to be reverenced in the age of philosophy. Prussia deemed herself called upon, as the inheritor of the Reformation brought about by Luther, as the principal Protestant power of Germany, to assume a prominent position in the religious movement of the time. Frederick William III., a sovereign distinguished for piety, appears, immediately after the great wars, to have deemed the conciliation of the various

tended her influence over Turkey, that she would not on that account prevent Russia from asserting her "just claims," a declaration that elicited bitter complaints from the British government; and again in 1831, by countenancing the entry of the Russians into Poland, at that time in a state of insurrection.

* The reason of the backwardness displayed from the commencement by Prussia to act as the bulwark of Germany on the Lower Rhine is explained by Stein in his letters: "Hanoverian jealousy, by which the narrow-minded Castlereagh was guided, and, generally speaking, jealousy of the German ministerial clauses, as if the existence of a Mecklenburg were of greater importance to Germany than that of a powerful warlike population, alike famous in time of peace or war, presided over the settlement of the relation in which Belgium was to stand to Prussia."

sects of Christians within his kingdom feasible. He, nevertheless, merely succeeded in effecting a union between the Lutherans and Calvinists. He also bestowed a new liturgy upon this united church, which was censured as partial, as proceeding too directly from the cabinet without being sanctioned by the concurrence of the assembled clergy and of the people. Some Lutherans, who refused compliance, were treated with extreme severity and compelled to emigrate; the utility of a union, which, two centuries earlier, would have saved Germany from ruin, was, however, generally acknowledged. It, nevertheless, was not productive of unity in the Protestant world. In the universities and among the clergy, two parties, the Rationalists and the Supernaturalists, stood opposed to one another. The former, the disciples of the old Neologians, still followed the philosophy of Kant, merely regarded Christianity as a code of moral philosophy, denominated Christ a wise teacher, and explained away his miracles by means of physics. The latter, the followers of the old orthodox Lutherans, sought to confirm the truths of the gospel also by philosophical means, and were denominated Supernaturalists, as believers in a mystery surpassing the reasoning powers of man. The celebrated Schleiermacher of Berlin mediated for some time between both parties. But it was in Prussia more particularly that both parties stood more rigidly opposed to one another and fell into the greatest extremes. The Rationalists were supplanted by the Pantheists, the disciples of Hegel, the Berlin philosopher, who at length formally declared war against Christianity; the Supernaturalists were here and there outdone by the Pietists, whose enthusiasm degenerated into licentiousness.* The king had, notwithstanding his piety, been led to believe that Hegel merely taught the students unconditional obedience to the state, and that Pantheist was consequently permitted to spread, under the protection of Prussia, his senseless doctrine of deified humanity, the same formerly proclaimed by Anacharsis Cloots in the French Convention. When too late, the gross deception practised by this sophist was perceived: his disciples threw off their troublesome mask, with Dr. Strauss,

* At Königsberg, in Prussia, a secret society was discovered which was partly composed of people of rank, who, under pretence of meeting for the exercise of religious duties, gave way to the most wanton licence.

who had been implicated in the Zurich disturbances, at their head, openly renounced Christianity, and, at Halle, led by Ruge, the journalist, embraced the social revolutionary ideas of "Young France," to which almost the whole of the younger journalists of literary "Young Germany" acceded; nor was this Gallic reaction, this retrogression towards the philosophical ideas of the foregoing century, without its cause, German patriotism, which, from 1815 to 1819, had predominated in every university throughout Prussia, having been forcibly suppressed. Hegel, on his appearance in Berlin, was generally regarded as the man on whom the task of diverting the enthusiasm of the rising generation for Germany into another channel devolved.* Every thing German had been treated with ridicule.† French fashions and French ideas had once more come into vogue.

Whilst Protestant Germany was thus torn, weakened, and degraded by schism, the religious movement throughout Catholic Germany insensibly increased in strength and unity. The adverse fate of the pope had, on his deliverance from the hands of Napoleon, excited a feeling of sympathy and reverence so universal as to be participated in by even the Protestant powers of Europe. He had, as early as 1814, reinstated the Jesuits without a remonstrance on the part of the sovereigns by whom they had formerly been condemned. The ancient spirit of the Romish church had revived. A new edifice was to be raised on the thick-strewn ruins of the past. In 1817, Bavaria concluded a concordat with the pope for the foundation of the archbishopric of Munich with the three bishoprics of Augsburg, Passau, and Ratisbon, and of the archbishopric of Bamberg with the three bishoprics of Würzburg, Eichstädt, and Spires. The king retained the right of presentation. In 1821, Prussia concluded a treaty by which the archbishopric of Cologne with the three bishoprics of Treves, Münster, and Paderborn, the archbishopric of Posen with Culm, and two

* The police, while attempting to lead science, was unwittingly led by it. The students were driven in crowds into Hegel's colleges, his pupils were preferred to all appointments, etc., and every measure was taken to render that otherwise almost unnoted sophist as dangerous as possible.

† In this the Jews essentially aided: Börne more in an anti-German, Heine more in an anti-Christian, spirit, and were highly applauded by the simple and infatuated German youth.

independent bishoprics in Breslau and Ermeland were established. The bishoprics of Hildesheim and Osnabrück were re-established in 1824 by the concordat with Hanover. In south-western Germany, the archbishopric of Freiburg in the Breisgau with the bishoprics of Rottenburg on the Neckar, Limburg on the Lahn, Mayence, and Fulda arose. In Switzerland there remained four bishoprics, Freiburg in the Uechtland, Solothurn, Coire, and St. Gall; in Alsace, Strassbourg and Colmar. In the Netherlands, the archbishopric of Malines with the bishoprics of Ghent, Liege, and Namur. In Holland, three Jansenist bishoprics, Utrecht, Deventer, and Haarlem, are remarkable for having retained their independence of Rome.

The renovated body of the church was inspired with fresh energy. On the fall of the Jesuits, the other extreme, Illuminatism, had raised its head, but had been compelled to yield before a higher power and before the moral force of Germany. The majority of the German Catholics now clung to the idea that the regeneration of the abused and despised church was best to be attained by the practice of evangelical simplicity and morality, that Jesuitism and Illuminatism were, consequently, to be equally avoided, and the better disposed among the Protestants to be imitated. Sailer, the great teacher of the German clergy, and Wessenberg, whom Rome on this account refused to raise to the bishopric of Constance, acted upon this idea. In Silesia, a number of youthful priests, headed by Theimer, impatient for the realization of the union, apparently approaching, of this moderate party with the equally moderately disposed party among the Protestants into one great German church, took [A. D. 1825] the bold step of renouncing celibacy. This party was however instantly suppressed by force by the king of Prussia. Theimer, in revenge, turned Jesuit and wrote against Prussia. Professors inclined to Ultramontanism were, meanwhile, installed in the universities, more particularly at Bonn, Münster, and Tübingen, by the Protestant as well as the Catholic governments; by them the clerical students were industriously taught that they were not Germans but subjects of Rome, and were flattered with the hope of one day participating in the supremacy about to be regained by the pontiff. Every priest inspired with patriotic sentiments, or evincing any degree of tolerance towards his Protestant fellow-citizens, was regarded as guilty of betraying the interests

of the church to the state and the tenets of the only true church to heretics. Görres, once Germany's most spirited champion against France, now appeared as the champion of Rome in Germany. The scandalous schisms in the Protestant church and the no less scandalous controversies carried on in the Protestant literary world rendered both contemptible, and, as in the commencement of the 17th century, appeared to offer a favourable opportunity for an attack on the part of the Catholics.

A long-forgotten point in dispute was suddenly revived. Marriages between Catholics and Protestants had hitherto been unhesitatingly sanctioned by the Catholic priesthood. The Prussian ordonnance of 1803, by which the father was empowered to decide the faith in which the children were to be brought up, had, on account of its conformity with nature and reason, never been disputed. Numberless mixed marriages had taken place among all classes from the highest to the lowest without the slightest suspicion of wrong attaching thereto. A papal brief of 1830 now called to mind that the church tolerated, it was true, although she disapproved of mixed marriages, which she permitted to take place solely on condition of the children being brought up in the Catholic faith. Prussia had acted with little foresight. Instead of, in 1814, on taking possession of the Rhenish provinces and of Westphalia, concluding a treaty with the then newly-restored pope, Hardenberg had, as late as 1820, during a visit to Rome, merely entered upon a transient agreement, by which Rome was bound to no concessions. The war openly declared by Rome was now attempted to be turned aside by means of petty and secret artifices. Several bishops, in imitation of the precedent given by Count von Spiegel, the peace-loving archbishop of Cologne, secretly bound themselves to interpret the brief in the sense of the government and to adhere to the ordonnance of 1803. On Spiegel's decease in 1835, his successor, the Baron Clement Augustus Droste, promised at Vischering, prior to his presentation, strictly to adhere to this secret compact; but, scarcely had he mounted the archiepiscopal seat, than his conscience forbade the fulfilment of his oath; God was to be obeyed rather than man! He prohibited the solemnization of mixed marriages within his diocese without the primary assurance of the education of the children in the Catholic faith, compel-

led his clergy strictly to obey the commands of Rome in points under dispute, and suppressed the Hermesian* doctrine in the university of Bonn. The warnings secretly given by the government proved unavailing, and he was, in consequence, unexpectedly deprived of his office in the November of 1837, arrested, and imprisoned in the fortress of Minden. This arbitrary measure caused great excitement among the Catholic population, and the ancient dislike of the Rhenish provinces to the rule of Prussia and the discontent of the Westphalian nobility on account of the emancipation of the peasantry again broke forth on this occasion. Görres, in Munich, industriously fed the flame by means of his pamphlet, "Athanasius." Dunin, archbishop of Gnesen and bishop of Thorn, followed the example of his brother of Cologne, was openly upheld by Prussian Poland, was cited to Berlin, fled thence, was recaptured and detained for some time within the fortress of Colberg, A. D. 1839.——The pope, Gregory XVI., solemnly declared his approbation of the conduct of these archbishops and rejected every offer of negotiation until their re-installation in their dioceses. A crowd of hastily established journals, more especially in Bavaria, maintained their cause, and were opposed by numberless Protestant publications, which generally proved injurious to the cause they strove to uphold, being chiefly remarkable for base servility, frivolity, and infidelity.

On the demise of Frederick William III., on the 7th of June, 1840, and the succession of his son, Frederick William IV., the church question was momentarily cast into the shade by that relating to the constitution. Constitutional Germany demanded from the new sovereign the convocation of the imperial diet promised by his father. The Catholic party, however, conscious that it would merely form the minority in the diet, did not participate in the demand.† The constitution was solely demanded by Protestant Eastern Prussia; but the king declared, during the ceremony of fealty at Königsberg, that "he would never do homage to the idea of a general popular representation and would pursue a course

* Hermes, it is true, recognised the tenets of the church, not, however, on account of their being taught by the church, but because he had arrived at similar conclusions in the course of his philosophical researches.

† Görres even advised against it, although, in 1817, he had acted the principal part on the presentation of the Cologne address.

based upon historical progression, suitable to German nationality." The provincial Estates were shortly afterwards instituted, and separate diets were opened in each of the provinces. This attracted little attention, and the dispute with the church once more became the sole subject of interest. It terminated in the complete triumph of the Catholic party. In consequence of an agreement with the pope, the brief of 1820 remained in force, Dunin was reinstated, Droste received personal satisfaction by a public royal letter and a representative in Cologne in von Geissel, hitherto bishop of Spires. The disputed election of the bishop of Treves was also decided in favour of Arnoldi, the ultramontane candidate.

Late in the autumn of 1842, the king of Prussia for the first time convoked the deputies selected from the provincial diets to Berlin. He had, but a short time before, laid the foundation-stone to the completion of the Cologne cathedral, and on that occasion, moreover, spoken words of deep import to the people, admonitory of unity to the whole of Germany.

CCLXXIII. *The progress of science, art, and practical knowledge in Germany.*

In the midst of the misery entailed by war and amid the passions roused by party strife the sciences had attained to a height hitherto unknown. The schools had never been neglected, and immense improvements, equally affecting the lowest of the popular schools and the colleges, had been constantly introduced. Pestalozzi chiefly encouraged the proper education of the lower classes and improved the method of instruction. The humanism of the learned academies (the study of the dead languages) went hand in hand with the realism of the professional institutions. The universities, although often subjected to an over-rigid system of surveillance and compelled to adopt a partial, servile bias, were, nevertheless, generally free from a political tendency and incredibly promoted the study of all the sciences. The mass of celebrated savants and of their works is too great to permit of more than a sketch of the principal features of modern German science.

The study of the classics, predominant since the time of the Reformation, has been cast into the shade by the German studies, by the deeper investigation of the language, the law, the

history of our forefathers and of the romantic middle age, by the great Catholic reaction, and, at the same time, by the immense advance made in natural history, geography, and universal history. The human mind, hitherto enclosed within a narrow sphere, has burst its trammels to revel in immeasurable space. The philosophy and empty speculations of the foregoing century have also disappeared before the mass of practical knowledge, and arrogant man, convinced by science, once more bends his reasoning faculties in humble adoration of their Creator.

The aristocracy of talent and learned professional pride have been overbalanced by a democratic press. The whole nation writes, and the individual writer is either swallowed up in the mass or gains but ephemeral fame. Every writer, almost without exception, affects a popular style. But, in this rich literary field, all springs up freely without connexion or guidance. No party is concentrated or represented by any reigning journal, but each individual writes for himself, and the immense number of journals published destroy each other's efficiency. Many questions of paramount importance are consequently lost in heaps of paper, and the interest they at first excited speedily becomes weakened by endless recurrence.

Theology shared in the movement above-mentioned in the church. The Rationalists were most profuse in their publications, Paulus at Heidelberg, and, more particularly, the Saxon authors, Tschirner, Bretschneider, etc. Ancient Lutheran vigour degenerated to shallow subtleties and a sort of coquettish tattling upon morality, in which Zschokke's "Hours of Devotion" carried away the palm. Neander, Gieseler, Gfrörer, and others greatly promoted the study of the history of the church. The propounders of the Gospels, however, snatched them, after a lamentable fashion, out of each other's hands, now doubting the authenticity of the whole, now that of most or of some of the chapters, and were unable to agree upon the number that ought to be retained. They, at the same time, outvied one another in political servility, whilst the Lutherans who, true to their ancient faith, protested against the Prussian liturgy, were too few in number for remark. This frivolous class of theologians at length entirely rejected the Gospels, embraced the doctrine of Hegel and Judaism, and renounced Christianity. Still, although the Supernaturalists, the orthodox party, and the Pietists triumphantly repelled

these attacks, and the majority of the elder Rationalists timidly seceded from the antichristian party, the Protestant literary world was reduced to a state of enervation and confusion, affording but too good occasion for an energetic demonstration on the part of the Catholics.

Philosophy also assumed the character of the age. Fichte of Berlin still upheld [A. D. 1814] the passion for liberty and right in their nobler sense that had been roused by the French Revolution, but, as he went yet further than Kant in setting limits to the sources of perception and denied the existence of conscience, his system proved merely of short duration. To him succeeded Schelling, with whom the return of philosophy to religion and that of abstract studies to nature and history commenced, and in whom the renovated spirit of the 19th century became manifest. His pupils were partly natural philosophers, who, like Oken, sought to comprehend all nature, her breathing unity, her hidden mysteries, in religion; partly mystics, who, like Eschenmaier, Schubert, Steffens, in a Protestant spirit, or, like Görres and Baader, in a Catholic one, sought also to comprehend every thing bearing reference to both nature and history in religion. It was a revival of the ancient mysticism of Hugo de S. Victoire, of Honorius, and of Rupert in another and a scientific age; nor was it unopposed: in the place of the foreign scholasticism formerly so repugnant to its doctrines, those of Schelling were opposed by a reaction of the superficial mock-enlightenment and sophistical scepticism predominant in the foregoing century, more particularly of the sympathy with France, which had been rendered more than ever powerful in Germany by the forcible suppression of patriotism. Abstract philosophy, despising nature and history, mocking Christianity, once more revived and set itself up as an absolute principle in Hegel. None of the other philosophers attained the notoriety gained by Schelling and Hegel, the representatives of the antitheses of the age.

An incredible advance, of which we shall merely record the most important facts, took place in the study of the physical sciences. Three new planets were discovered, Pallas, in 1802, and Vesta, in 1807, by Olbers; Juno, in 1824, by Harding. Enke and Biela first fixed the regular return and brief revolution of the two comets named after them. Schröter and Mädler minutely examined the moon and

planets; Struve, the fixed stars. Fraunhofer improved the telescope. Chladni first investigated the nature of fiery meteors and brought the study of acoustics to perfection. Alexander von Humboldt immensely promoted the observation of the changes of the atmosphere and the general knowledge of the nature of the earth. Werner and Leopold von Buch also distinguished themselves among the investigators of the construction of the earth and mountains. Scheele, Gmelin, Liebig, etc. were noted chemists. Oken, upon the whole, chiefly promoted the study of natural history, and numberless researches were made separately in mineralogy, the study of fossils, botany, and zoology by the most celebrated scientific men of the day. Whilst travellers visited every quarter of the globe in search of plants and animals as yet unknown and regulated them by classes, other men of science were engaged at home in the investigation of their internal construction, their uses and habits, in which they were greatly assisted by the improved microscope, by means of which Ehrenberg discovered a completely new class of animalculæ. The discoveries of science were also zealously applied for practical uses. Agriculture, cattle-breeding, manufactures received a fresh impulse and immense improvements as knowledge advanced. Commerce by water and by land experienced a thorough revolution on the discovery of the properties of steam, by the use of steamers and railroads. ——Medical science also progressed, notwithstanding the number of contradictory and extravagant theories. The medical practitioners of Germany took precedence throughout Europe. Animal magnetism was practised by Eschenmaier, Kieser, and Justin Kerner, by means of whose female seer, von Prevorst, the seeing of visions and the belief in ghosts were once more brought forward. Hahnemann excited the greatest opposition by his system of homœopathy, which cured diseases by the administration of homogeneous substances in the minutest doses. He was superseded by the cold water cure. During the last twenty years the naturalists and medical men of Germany have held an annual meeting in a different town.

The philologists and savants have for some years past also been in the habit of holding a similar meeting. The classics no longer form the predominant study among philo-

logists. Even literati, whose tastes, like that of Creuzer, are decidedly classic, have acknowledged that the knowledge of the oriental tongues is requisite for the attainment of a thorough acquaintance with classic antiquity. A great school for the study of the Eastern languages has been especially established under the precedence of the brothers Schlegel, Bopp, and others. The study of the ancient language of Germany and of her venerable monuments has, finally, been promoted by Jacob Grimm and by his widely spread school.

The study of history became more profound and was extended over a wider field. A mass of archives hitherto secret were rendered public and spread new light on many of the remarkable characters and events in the history of Germany. Historians also learnt to compile with less party spirit and on more solid grounds. History, at first compiled in a Protestant spirit, afterwards inclined as partially to Catholicism, and the majority of the higher order of historical writers were consequently rendered the more careful in their search after truth. Among the universal historians, Rotteck gained the greatest popularity on account of the extreme liberality of his opinions, and Heeren and Schlosser acquired great note for depth of learning. Von Hammer, who rendered us acquainted with the history of the Mahommedan East, takes precedence among the historical writers upon foreign nations. Niebuhr's Roman History, Wilken's History of the Crusades, Leo's History of Italy, Ranke's History of the Popes, etc., have attained well-merited fame.——The history of Germany as a whole, which Germany neither was nor is, was little studied, but an immense mass of facts connected with or referring to Germany was furnished by the numberless and excellent single histories and biographies that poured through the press. All the more ancient collections of *script. rerum* were, according to the plan of Stein, the celebrated Prussian minister, to be surpassed by a critical work on the sources of German history, conducted by Pertz, which could, however, be but slowly carried out. Grimm, Mone, and Barth threw immense light upon German heathen antiquity, Zeusz upon the genealogy of nations. The best account of the Ostrogoths was written by Manso, of the Visigoths by Aschbach, of the Anglo-Saxons by Lappenberg, of the more an-

cient Franks by Mannert, Pertz, and Löbell, of Charlemagne by Diebold and Ideler, of Louis the Pious by Funk, of the Saxon emperors by Ranke and his friends, Wachter and Leutsch, of the Salic emperors by Stenzel, of the German popes of those times by Höfler, of the Hohenstaufen by Raumer, Kortum, and Hurter, of the emperor Richard by Gebauer, of Henry VII. of Luxemburg by Barthold, of King John by Lenz, of Charles IV. by Pelzel and Schottky, of Wenzel by Pelzel, of Sigismund by Aschbach, of the Habsburgs by Kurz, Prince Lichnowsky, and Hormayr, of Louis the Bavarian by Mannert, of Ferdinand I. by Buchholz, of the Reformation by C. A. Menzel and Ranke, of the Peasant War by Sartorius, Oechsle, and Bensen, on the Thirty Years' War by Barthold, of Gustavus Adolphus by Gfrörer, of Wallenstein by Förster, of Bernhard of Weimar by Röse, of George of Lüneburg by von der Decken. Of the ensuing period by Förster and Guhrauer, of the Eighteenth Century by Schlosser, of the Wars with France by Clausewitz, of Modern Times by Hormayr.

Coxe, Schneller, Mailàth, Chmel, and Gervay also wrote histories of Austria, Schottky and Palacky of Bohemia, Beda, Weber, and Hormayr of the Tyrol, Voigt of the Teutonic Order, Manso, Stenzel, Förster, Dohm, Massenbach, Cölln, Preusz, etc. of the Kingdom of Prussia, Stenzel of Anhalt, Kobbe of Lauenburg, Lützow of Mecklenburg, Barthold of Pomerania, Kobbe of Holstein, Wimpfen of Sleswick, Sartorius and Lappenberg of the Hansa, Hanssen of the Dittmarses, Spittler, Havemann, and Strombeck of Brunswick and Hanover, van Kampen of Holland, Warnkönig of Flanders, Rommel of Hesse, Lang of Eastern Franconia, Wachter and Langenn of Thuringia and Saxony, Lang, Wolf, Mannert, Zschokke, Völderndorf of Bavaria, Pfister, Pfaff, and Stälin of Swabia, Glutz-Blotzheim, Hottinger, Meyer von Knonau, Zschokke, Haller, Schuler, etc. of Switzerland. The most remarkable among the histories of celebrated cities are, those of St. Gall by Arx, of Vienna by Mailàth, of Frankfurt on the Maine by Kirchner, of Ulm and Heilbronn by Jæger, of Rotenburg on the Tauber by Bensen, etc.

Ritter, and, next to him, Berghaus, greatly extended the knowledge of geography. Maps were drawn out on a greatly improved scale. Alexander von Humboldt, who ruled the

world with his scientific as Napoleon with his eagle glance, attained the highest repute among travellers of every nation. Krusenstern, Langsdorf, and Kotzebue, Germans in the service of Russia, circumnavigated the globe. Meyen, the noted botanist, did the same in a Prussian ship. Baron von Hügel explored India. Gützlaff acted as a missionary in China. Ermann and Ledebur explored Siberia; Klaproth, Kupfer, Parrot, and Eichwald, the Caucasian provinces; Burckhardt, Rüppell, Ehrenberg, and Russegger, Syria and Egypt; the Prince von Neuwied and Paul William, duke of Würtemberg, North America; Becher, Mexico; Schomburg, Guiana; the Prince von Neuwied and Martius, the Brazils; Pöppig, the banks of the Amazon; Rengger, Paraguay. The Missionary Society for the conversion of the heathen in distant parts and for the propagation of the gospel, founded at Basle, A. D. 1816, have gained well-merited repute.

At the commencement of the present century, amid the storms of war, German taste took a fresh bias. French frivolity had increased immorality to a degree hitherto unknown. Licentiousness reigned unrestrained on the stage and pervaded the lighter productions of the day. If Iffland had, not unsuccessfully, represented the honest citizens and peasantry of Germany struggling against the unnatural customs of modern public life, Augustus von Kotzebue, who, after him, ruled the German stage, sought, on the contrary, to render honour despicable and to encourage the licence of the day. In the numerous romances, a tone of lewd sentimentality took place of the strict propriety for which they had formerly been remarkable, and the general diffusion of these immoral productions, among which the romances of Lafontaine may be more particularly mentioned, contributed in no slight degree to the moral perversion of the age.

Jean Paul Friedrich Richter stands completely alone. He shared the weaknesses of his times, which, like Gœthe and Kotzebue, he both admired and ridiculed, passing with extraordinary versatility, almost in the same breath, from the most moving pathos to the bitterest satire. His clever but too deeply metaphysical romances are not only full of domestic sentimentality and domestic scenes, but they also imitate the over-refinement and effeminacy of Gœthe, and yet his sound understanding and warm patriotic feelings led him to

condemn all the artificial follies of fashion, all that was unnatural as well as all that was unjust.

Modern philosophy had no sooner triumphed over the ancient religion and France over Germany, than an extraordinary reaction, inaptly termed the romantic, took place in poetry. Although Ultramontanism might be traced even in Frederich Schlegel, this school of poetry nevertheless solely owes its immense importance to its resuscitation of the older poetry of Germany, and to the success with which it opposed Germanism to Gallicism. Ludwig Tieck exclusively devoted himself to the German and romantic middle ages, to the Minnesingers, to Shakspeare, Cervantes, and Calderon, and modelled his own on their immortal works. The eyes of his contemporaries were by him first completely opened to the long-misunderstood beauties of the Middle Ages. His kindred spirit, Novalis, (Hardenberg,) destined to a too brief career, gave proofs of signal talent. Heinrich von Kleist, who committed suicide, left the finest-spirited and most delightful dramas. Ludwig Achim von Arnim, like Tieck, cultivated the older German Saga; his only fault was that, led away by the richness of his imagination, he overcoloured his descriptions. Aided by Brentano, he collected the finest of the popular ballads of Germany in "des Knaben Wunderhorn." At Berlin, Fouqué, with true old German taste, revived the romances of chivalry and, shortly before 1813, met the military spirit once more rising in Prussia with a number of romances in which figured battle-steeds and coats of mail, German faith and bravery, valiant knights and chaste dames, intermixed, it must be confessed, with a good deal of affectation. On the discovery being made that many of the ancient German ballads were still preserved among the lower classes, chiefly among the mountains, they were also sought for, and some poets tuned their lyres on the naïve popular tone, etc., first, Hebel, in the partly extremely natural, partly extremely affected, Alemannic songs, which have found frequent imitators. Zacharia Werner and Hoffman, on the other hand, exclusively devoted themselves to the darker side of days of yore, to their magic and superstition, and filled the world, already terror-stricken by the war, with supernatural stories. Still, throughout one and all of these productions, curiously as they contrasted, the same inclination to return to and to revive a purely German style

was betrayed. At that moment the great crisis suddenly took place. Before even the poets could predict the event, Germany cast off the yoke of Napoleon, and the German "Sturm and Freiheitslieder" of Theodor Körner, Arndt, Schenkendorf, etc., chimed in like a fearfully beautiful Allegro with the Adagio of their predecessors.

This was in a manner also the finale of the German notes that so strangely resounded in that Gallic time; the restoration suppressed every further outburst of patriotism, and the patriotic spirit that had begun to breathe forth in verse once more gave place to cosmopolitism and Gallicism. The lyric school, founded by Ludwig Uhland, alone preserved a German spirit and a connexion with the ancient *Minnelieder* of Swabia.

The new cosmopolitical tendency of the poetry of these times is chiefly due to the influence exercised by Gœthe. The quick comprehension and ready adoption of every novelty is a faculty of, not a fault in, the German character, and alone becomes reprehensible when, forgetful of itself and of its own peculiar attributes, it adopts a medley of foreign incongruities and falsifies whatever ought to be preserved special and true. Gœthe and his school however, not content with imitating singly the style of every nation and of every period, have interwoven the most diverse strains, antique and romantic, old German and modern French, Grecian and Chinese, in one and the same poem. This unnatural style, itself destructive of the very peculiarity at which it aims, has infected both modern poetry and modern art; the architect intermixes the Grecian and the Gothic in his creations, whilst the painter seeks to unite the styles of the Flemish and Italian schools in his productions, and the poet those of Persia, Scandinavia, and Spain, in his strains.——Those are indeed deserving of gratitude who have comprehended and preserved the character peculiar to the productions of foreign art, in which the brothers Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel have been so eminently successful. Hammer and, after him, Rückert have also opened the eastern world to our view. Count Platen, on the other hand, hung fluctuating between the antique Persian and German.——Cosmopolitism was greatly strengthened by the historical romances in vogue in England, descriptive of olden time, and which found innumerable imitators in Ger-

many. They were, at all events, thus far beneficial; they led us from the parlour into the world.

But no sooner was exclusively German taste neglected for that of foreign nations than Gallomania revived; all were compelled to pay homage to the spirit and the tone prevalent throughout Europe. The witty aristocratic *médisance* and grim spirit of rebellion emulating each other in France, were, in Germany, represented by Prince Pückler, the most *spirituel* drawing-room satirist, and by the Jew, Börne, the most spirited Jacobin of the day. The open infidelity again demonstrated in France also led to its introduction into Germany by the Jew, Heine, whilst the immoral romances with which that country was deluged, speedily became known to us through the medium of the translations and imitations of "Young Germany," and were incredibly increased by our literary industry; all the lying memoirs, in which the French falsify history, view Napoleon as a demi-god, and treat the enthusiasm with which the Germans were animated in 1813 with derision, were also diligently translated. This tendency to view every thing German with French eyes and to ridicule German honour and German manners was especially promoted by the light literature and numerous journals of the day, and was, in the universities, in close connexion with the anti-christian tendency of the school of Hegel.——The late Catholic reaction, too exclusively political, has as yet developed no power in the literary world, and would scarcely succeed in gaining any, being less German than Roman.

Whilst German poetry follows so false a course, it naturally follows that art also must be deprived of its national character. Architecture has, it is true, abandoned the periwig style of France, but the purer antique or Byzantine taste to which it has returned is generally insipidly simple, whilst the attempts at Gothic and Moorish are truly miserable. A more elevated feeling than the present generation, which, in Gœthe's manner, delights in alternately trifling with every style or is completely enslaved by the modes imposed by France, is fitted to comprehend, is requisite for the revival of German or Gothic architecture. Still it may be, as is hoped, that the intention to complete the building of the Cologne cathedral will not be entirely without a beneficial influence.

The art of painting aspires far more energetically towards

national emancipation. In the present century, the modern French style affecting the antique presented a complete contrast with the German-romantic school, which, in harmony with the simultaneous romantic reaction in the poetical world, returned to the sacred simplicity of the ancient German and Italian masters. Overbeck was in this our greatest master. Since this period, the two great schools at Munich and Düsseldorf, founded by Peter Cornelius, and whose greatest masters are Peter Hesz, Bendemann, Lessing, Kaulbach, etc., sought a middle path, and have, with earnest zeal, well and skilfully opposed the too narrow imitation of, and the medley of style produced by the study of, the numerous old masters on the one hand, and, on the other, the search for effect, that Gallic innovation so generally in vogue. Were the church again to require pictures, or the state to employ the pencil of the patriot artist in recording the great deeds of past or present times or in the adornment of public edifices, painting would be elevated to its proper sphere.—— Germany has also produced many celebrated engravers, among whom Müller holds precedence. Lithography, now an art of so much importance, was invented by the Bavarian, Senefelder. The art of painting on glass has also been revived.

In music, the Germans have retained their ancient fame. After Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, etc. have gained immense celebrity as composers. Still, much that is unnatural, affected, *bizarre*, and licentious, has crept into the compositions of the German masters, more particularly in the operas, owing to the imitation of the modern Italian and French composers. A popular reaction has, however, again taken place, and, as before, in choral music, by means of the "singing clubs," which become more and more general among the people.

The stage has most deeply degenerated. At the commencement of the present century, its mimic scenes afforded a species of consolation for the sad realities of life, and formed the Lethe in whose waters oblivion was gladly sought. The public afterwards became so practical in its tastes, so sober in its desires, that neither the spirit of the actor nor the coquetry of the actress had power to attract an audience. The taste and love for art were superseded by criticism and low intrigues, the theatre became a mere political engine, intended to divert the thoughts of the population of the great

cities from the discussion of topics dangerous to the state by the all-engrossing charms of actresses and ballet-dancers.

The Germans, although much more practical in the present than in the past century, are still far from having freed themselves from the unjust, unfitting, and inconvenient situation into which they have fallen as time and events rolled on.

A mutual understanding in regard to the external position of the German in reference to the Slavonian nation has scarcely begun to dawn upon us. Scarcely have we become sensible to the ignominious restrictions imposed upon German commerce by the prohibitory regulations of Russia, by the customs levied in the Sound, on the Elbe, and Rhine. Scarcely has the policy that made such immense concessions to Russian diplomacy, and scarcely has the party spirit that looked for salvation for Germany from France, yielded to a more elevated feeling of self-respect. And yet, whoever were to say to the people of Alsace, Switzerland, and Holland, "Ye are Germans," would reap but derision and insult. Germany is on the point of being once more divided into Catholic and Protestant Germany, and no one can explain how the German Customs' Union is to extend to the German Ocean, on account of the restrictions mutually imposed by the Germans. Could we but view ourselves as the great nation we in reality are, attain to a consciousness of the immeasurable strength we in reality possess, and make use of it in order to satisfy our wants, the Germans would be thoroughly a practical nation, instead of lying like a dead lion among the nations of Europe, and unresistingly suffering them to mock, tread under foot, nay, deprive him of his limbs, as though he were a miserable, helpless worm.

More, far more has been done for the better regulation of the internal economy of Germany than for her external protection and power. The reforms suited to the age, commenced by the philosophical princes and ministers of the past century, have been carried on by Prussia in her hour of need, by constitutional Germany by constitutional means. Every where have the public administration been better regulated, despotism been restrained by laws, financial affairs been settled even under the heavy pressure of the national debts. Commerce, manufactural industry, and agriculture have been

greatly promoted by the Customs' Union, by government aid and model institutions, by the improvements in the post-offices, by the laying of roads and railways. The public burthens and public debts, nevertheless, still remain disproportionately heavy on account of the enormous military force which the great states are compelled to maintain for the preservation of their authority, and on account of the poliarchical state of Germany, which renders the maintenance of an enormous number of courts, governments, general staffs and chambers necessary.

The popular sense of justice and legality, never entirely suppressed throughout Germany, also gave fresh proof of its existence under the new state of affairs, partly in the endlessly drawn-out proceedings in the chambers, partly in the incredible number of new laws and regulations in the different states. Still, industriously as these laws have been compiled, no real, essential, German law, neither public nor private, has been discovered. The Roman and French codes battled with each other and left no room for the establishment of a code fundamentally and thoroughly German. The most distinguished champions of the common rights of the people against cabinet-justice, the tyranny of the police and of the censor, were principally advocates and savants. The Estates, as corporations, were scarcely any longer represented. The majority of governments, ruled by the principle of absolute monarchy, and the chambers, ruled by that of democracy, had, since the age of philosophy, been unanimous in setting the ancient Estates aside. The nobility alone preserved certain privileges, and the Catholic clergy alone regained some of those they had formerly enjoyed; all the Estates were, in every other respect, placed on a level. The ancient and national legal rights of the people were consequently widely trenched upon.

The emancipation of the peasant from the oppressive feudal dues, and the abolition of the restraint imposed by the laws of the city corporations, which had so flagrantly been abused, were indubitably well intended, but, instead of stopping there, good old customs, that ought only to have been freed from the weeds with which they had been overgrown, were totally eradicated. The peasant received a freehold, but was, by means of his enfranchisement, generally laden with debts, and, whilst

pride whispered in his ear that he was now a lord of the soil and might assume the costume of his betters, the land, whence he had to derive his sustenance, was gradually diminished in extent by the systematic division of property. His pretensions increased exactly in the ratio in which the means for satisfying them decreased; and the necessity of raising money placed him in the hands of Jews. The smaller the property by reason of subdivision, the more frequently is land put up for sale, the deeper is the misery of the homeless outcast. The restoration of the inalienable, indivisible allod and of the federal rights of the peasant, as in olden times, would have been far more to the purpose.——Professional liberty, the introduction of mechanism and manufactural industry, have annihilated every warrant formerly afforded by the artificer as master and member of a city corporation, and, at the same time, every warrant afforded to him by the community of his being able to subsist by means of his industry. Manufactures on an extensive scale that export their produce must at all events be left unrestricted, but the small trades carried on within a petty community, their only market, excite, when free, a degree of competition which is necessarily productive both of bad workmanship and poverty, and the superfluous artificers, unaided by their professional freedom, fall bankrupt and become slaves in the establishments of their wealthier* competitors. The restoration of the city guilds under restrictions suitable to the times would have been far more judicious.

The maintenance of a healthy, contented class of citizens and peasants ought to be one of the principal aims of every German statesman. The fusion of these ancient and powerful classes into one common mass whence but a few wealthy individuals rise to eminence would be fatal to progression in Germany. By far the greater part of the people have already lost the means of subsistence formerly secured to all, nay, even to the serf, by the privileges of his class. The insecure possession, the endless division and alienation of property, the anxious dread of loss, and a rapacious love of gain, have become universal. Care for the means of daily existence, like creeping poison, unnerves the population. The anxious solicitude to which this gives rise has a deeply demoralizing effect. Even offices under government are less sought for

* Because more skilful.—TRANS.

from motives of ambition than as a means of subsistence; the arts and sciences have been degraded to mere sources of profit, envious trade decides questions of the highest importance, the torch of Hymen is lit by Plutus, not at the shrine of Love; and in the bosom of the careworn father of a family, whose scanty subsistence depends upon a patron's smile, the words "fatherland" and "glory," find no responsive echo.

Among the educated classes this state of poverty is allied with the most inconsistent luxury. Each and all, however poor, are anxious to preserve an appearance of wealth or to raise credit by that means. All, however needy, must be fashionable. The petty tradesman and the peasant ape their superiors in rank, and the old-fashioned but comfortable and picturesque national costume is being gradually thrown aside for the ever-varying modes prescribed by Paris to the world. The inordinate love of amusements in which the lower classes and the *proletariat*, ever increasing in number, seek more particularly to drown the sense of misery, is another and a still greater source of public demoralization. The general habit of indulging in the use of spirituous liquors has been rightfully designated the brandy pest, owing to its lamentable moral and physical effect upon the population. This pest was encouraged not alone by private individuals, who gain their livelihood by disseminating it among the people, but also by governments, which raised a large revenue by its means; and the temperance societies, lately founded, but slightly stem the evil.

The public authorities throughout Germany have, it must be confessed, displayed extraordinary solicitude for the poor by the foundation of charitable institutions of every description, but they have contented themselves with merely alleviating misery instead of removing its causes; and the benevolence that raised houses of correction, poor-houses, and hospitals, is rendered null by the laxity of the legislation. No measures are taken by the governments to provide means for emigration, to secure to the peasant his freehold, to the artificer the guarantee he ought to receive and to give, and the maintenance of the public morals. The punishment awarded for immorality and theft is so mild as to deprive them of the character of crime, pamphlets and works of the most immoral description are dispersed by means of the cir-

culating libraries among all classes, and the bold infidelity preached even from the universities is left unchecked. But —is not the thief taught morality in the house of correction? and are not diseases, the result of licence, cured in the hospitals with unheard-of humanity?

Private morality, so long preserved free from contamination, although all has for so long conspired against the liberty and unity of Germany, is greatly endangered. Much may, however, be hoped for from the sound national sense. The memory of the strength displayed by Germany in 1813 has been eradicated neither by the contempt of France or Russia, by any reactionary measure within Germany herself, by social and literary corruption, nor by the late contest between church and state. The Customs' Union has, notwithstanding the difference in political principle, brought despotic Prussia and constitutional Germany one step nearer. The influence of Russia on the one hand, of that of France on the other, has sensibly decreased. The irreligious and immoral tendencies now visible will, as has ever been the case in Germany, produce a reaction, and, when the necessity is more urgently felt, fitting measures will be adopted for the prevention of pauperism. The dangers with which Germany is externally threatened will also compel governments, however egotistical and indifferent, to seek their safety in unity, and even should the long neglect of this truth be productive of fresh calamity and draw upon Germany a fresh attack from abroad, that very circumstance will but strengthen our union and accelerate the regeneration of our great fatherland, already anticipated by the people on the fall of the Hohenstaufen.

CCLXXIV. *German emigrants.*

THE overplus population of Germany has ever emigrated; in ancient times, for the purpose of conquering foreign powers; in modern times, for that of serving under them. In the days of German heroism, our conquering hordes spread towards the west and south, over Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, England, and Iceland; during the middle ages, our mail-clad warriors took an easterly direction and overran the Slavonian countries, besides Prussia, Transylvania, and Palestine; in modern times, our religious and political refugees have

emigrated in scarcely less considerable numbers to countries far more distant, but in the humble garb of artificers and beggars, the Parias of the world. Our ancient warriors gained undying fame and long maintained the influence and the rule of Germany in foreign lands. Our modern emigrants have unnoted quitted their native country, and, as early as the second generation, intermixed with the people among whom they settled. Hundreds of thousands of Germans have in this manner aided to aggrandize the British colonies, and Germany has derived no benefit from the emigration of her sons.

The first great mass of religious refugees threw itself into Holland and into the Dutch colonies, the greater part of which have since passed into the hands of the British. The illiberality of the Dutch caused the second great mass to bend its steps to British North America, within whose wilds every sect found an asylum. William Penn, the celebrated Quaker, visited Germany, and, in 1683, gave permission to some Germans to settle in the province named, after him, Pennsylvania, where they founded the city of Germantown.* These fortunate emigrants were annually followed by thousands of exiled Protestants, principally from Alsace and the Palatinate. The industry and honesty for which the German workmen were remarkable caused some Englishmen to enter into a speculation to procure their services as white slaves. The greatest encouragement was accordingly given by them to emigration from Germany, but the promises so richly lavished were withdrawn on the unexpected emigration of thirty-three thousand of the inhabitants of the Palatinate, comprising entire communes headed by their preachers, evidently an unlooked and unwished-for multitude. These emigrants reached London abandoned by their patrons and disavowed by the government. A fearful fate awaited them. After losing considerable numbers from starvation in England, the greater part of the survivors were compelled to work like slaves in the mines and in the cultivation of uninhabited islands; three thousand six hundred of them were sent over to Ireland, where they swelled the number of beggars; numbers were lost at sea, and seven thousand of them returned in despair, in a

* The abolition of negro slavery was first mooted by Germans in 1688, at the great Quaker meeting in North America.

state of utter destitution, to their native country. A small number of them, however, actually sailed for New York, where they were allotted portions of the primitive forests, which they cleared and cultivated; but they had no sooner raised flourishing villages in the midst of rich corn-fields and gardens, than they were informed that the ground belonged to the state and were driven from the home they had so lately found. Pennsylvania opened a place of refuge to the wanderers.*

The religious persecution and the increasing despotism of the governments in Germany meanwhile incessantly drove fresh emigrants to America, where, as they were generally sent to the extreme verge of the provinces in order to clear the ground and drive away the aborigines, numbers of them were murdered by the Indians. Switzerland also sent forth many emigrants, who settled principally in North Carolina. The people of Salzburg, whose expulsion has been detailed above, colonized Georgia in 1732. In 1742, there were no fewer than a hundred thousand Germans in North America, and, since that period, their number has been continually on the increase. Thousands annually arrived; for instance, in the years 1749 and 1750, seven thousand; in 1754, as many as twenty-two thousand; in 1797, six thousand Swabians. The famine of 1770, the participation of German mercenaries in the wars of the British in North America, at first against the French colonies, afterwards against the English colonists, (the German prisoners generally settled in the country,) induced the Germans to emigrate in such great numbers that, from 1770 to 1791, twenty-four emigrant ships on an average arrived annually at Philadelphia, without reckoning those that landed in the other harbours.†

* Account of the United States by Eggerling.

† One of the most distinguished Germans in America was a person named John Jacob Astor, the son of a bailiff at Walldorf near Heidelberg, who was brought up as a furrier, emigrated to America, where he gradually became the wealthiest of all furriers, founded at his own expense the colony of Astoria, on the north-western coast of North America, so interestingly described by Washington Irving, and the Astor fund, intended as a protection to German emigrants to America from the frauds practised on the unwary. He resided at New York. He possessed an immense fortune and was highly and deservedly esteemed for his extraordinary philanthropy.

The passage by sea to the west being continually closed during the great wars with France, the stream of emigration took an easterly direction overland. Russia had extended her conquests towards Persia and Turkey. The necessity of fixing colonies in the broad steppes as in the primitive forests of America, to serve as a barrier against the wild frontier tribes, was plainly perceived by the Russian government, and Germans were once more made use of for this purpose. Extensive colonies, which at the present date contain hundreds of thousands of German inhabitants, but whose history is as yet unknown, were accordingly formed northwards of the Black and Caspian Seas. Swabian villages were also built on the most southern frontier of Russia towards Persia, and in 1826 suffered severely from an inroad of the Persians.

The fall of Napoleon had no sooner reopened the passage by sea than the tide of emigration again turned towards North America. These emigrants, the majority of whom consisted of political malcontents, preferred the land of liberty to the steppes of Russia, whither sectarians and those whom the demoralization and irreligion of the Gallomanic period had filled with disgust had chiefly resorted. The Russo-Teuto colonies are proverbial for purity and strictness of morals. One Würtemberg sectarian alone, the celebrated Rapp, succeeded during the period of the triumph of France in emigrating to Pennsylvania, where he founded the Harmony, a petty religious community. An inconsiderable number of Swiss, dissatisfied with Napoleon's supremacy, also emigrated in 1805 and built New Vevay. But it was not until after the wars, more particularly during the famine in 1816 and 1817, that emigration across the sea was again carried on to a considerable extent. In 1817, thirty thousand Swiss, Würtembergers, Hessians, and inhabitants of the Palatinate emigrated, and about an equal number were compelled to retrace their steps from the sea-coast in a state of extreme destitution on account of their inability to pay their passage and of the complete want of interest in their behalf displayed by the governments. Political discontent increased in 1818 and 1819, and each succeeding spring thirty thousand Germans sailed down the Rhine to the land of liberty in the far west. In 1820, a society was set on foot at Berne for the protection of the Swiss emigrants from the frauds practised upon the unwary. The union of the Archduchess

Leopoldine, daughter to the emperor Francis, with Don Pedro, the emperor of the Brazils, had, since 1817, attracted public attention to South America. Don Pedro took German mercenaries into his service for the purpose of keeping his wild subjects within bounds, and the fruitful land offered infinite advantages to the German agriculturist; but colonization was rendered impracticable by the revolutionary disorders and by the ill-will of the natives towards the settlers, and the Germans who had been induced to emigrate either enlisted as soldiers or perished. Several among them, who have published their adventures in the Brazils, bitterly complained of the conduct of Major Schäfer, who had been engaged in collecting recruits at Hamburg for the Brazils. They even accused him of having allowed numbers of their fellow-countrymen to starve to death from motives of gain, so much a head being paid to him on his arrival in the Brazils for the men shipped from Europe whether they arrived dead or alive. The publication of these circumstances completely checked the emigration to the Brazils, and North America was again annually, particularly in 1827 and after the July revolution, overrun with Germans, and they have even begun to take part in the polity of the United States. The peasants, who have been settled for a considerable period, and who have insensibly acquired great wealth and have retained the language and customs of their native country, form the flower of the German colonists in the West.*

* The Allgemeine Zeitung of September, 1837, reports that there were at that time one hundred and fifty-seven thousand Germans in North America who were still unnaturalized, consequently had emigrated thither within the last two or three years. In Philadelphia alone there were seventy-five thousand Germans. Grund says in his work, "The Americans in 1837," "The peaceable disposition of the Germans prevents their interfering with politics, although their number is already considerable enough for the formation of a powerful party. They possess, notwithstanding, great weight in the government of Pennsylvania, in which state the governors have since the revolution always been Germans. This is in fact so well understood on all sides that even during the last election, when two democrats and a Whig candidate contended for the dignity of governor, they were all three Germans by birth and no other would have had the slightest chance of success. In the state of Ohio there are at the present date, although that province was first colonized by New-English, no fewer than forty-five thousand Germans possessed of the right of voting. The state of New York, although originally colonized by Dutch, contains a numerous German population in several of its provinces,

In the Cape colonies, the Dutch peasants, the boors, feeling themselves oppressed by the English government, emigrated *en masse*, in 1837, to the north, where they settled with the Caffres, and, under their captain, Prætorius, founded an independent society [A. D. 1839] at Port Natal, where they again suffered a violent aggression on the part of the British.

Thus are Germans fruitlessly scattered far and wide over the face of the globe, whilst on the very frontiers of Germany nature has designated the Danube as the near and broad path for emigration and colonization to her overplus population, which, by settling in her vicinity, would at once increase her external strength and extend her influence.

particularly in that of Columbia, the birth-place of Martin van Burens, the present vice-president and future president of the republic. The state of Maryland numbers twenty-five thousand Germans possessed of votes; almost one-third of the population of Illinois is German, and thousands of fresh emigrants are settling in the valley of the Mississippi. I believe that the number of German voters or of voters of German descent may, without exaggeration, be reckoned on an average annually at four hundred thousand, and certainly in less than twenty years hence at a million. In the city of New York, the Germans greatly influence the election of the burgomaster and other city authorities by holding no fewer than three thousand five hundred votes. These circumstances naturally render the German vote an object of zealous contention for politicians of every party, and there is accordingly no dearth of German newspapers in any of the German settlements. In Pennsylvania, upwards of thirty German (principally weekly) papers are in circulation, and about an equal number are printed and published in the state of Ohio. A scarcely fewer number are also in circulation in Maryland."

THE END.

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